

H U D I B R A S

BY

SAMUEL BUTLER,

WITH VARIORUM NOTES, SELECTED PRINCIPALLY
FROM GREY AND NASH

HENRY G BOHN



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PREFACE

THE edition of *Hudibras* now submitted to the public is intended to be more complete, though in a smaller compass, than any of its numerous predecessors. The text is that of Nash, usually accepted as the best, but in many instances—as in the very first line—the author's original readings have been preferred. In all cases the variations are shown in the foot notes, so that the reader may take his choice.

The main feature, however, of the present edition is its notes, these have been selected with considerable diligence and attention from every known source, and it is believed that no part of the text is left unexplained which was ever explained before. *Grey* has been the great storehouse of information, and next in degree *Nash*, but both have required careful sifting. Other editions, numerous as they are,—including Aikin's, the Aldine, and Gilfillan's,—have yielded nothing. Mr Bell's, which is by far the best, is edited on the same principle as the present, and had that gentleman retained the numbering of the lines, and given an Index, there would have been little left for any successor to improve.

A few of the notes in the present selection are, to a certain extent, original, arising from some historical and bibliographical knowledge of the times, or derived

from a manuscript key, annexed to a copy of the first edition, and attributed to Butler himself

The Biographical Sketch of our poet is a mere *refacimento* of old materials, for nothing new is now to be discovered about him. Diligent researches have been made in the parish where he lived and died—Covent Garden—without eliciting any new fact, excepting that the monument erected to his memory has been destroyed

This volume has been more than two years at press, having dribbled through the editor's hands, not during his leisure hours or intervals of business, for he never had any, but by forced snatches from his legitimate pursuits. An old affection for *Hudibras*, acquired nearly half a century ago, at a time when its piquant couplets were still familiarly quoted, had long impressed him with the desire to publish a really popular edition,

Et l'on revient toujours
À ses premières amours

the public therefore now have the result

It has happened, from the want of consecutive attention, that two or three notes are all but duplicate, such as that on *Wicked Bibles* at pages 326 and 371, *Mum and Mummery*, 385 and 406, and, *He that fights and runs away*, at pages 403 and 106. But the publisher hopes that his readers will not quarrel with him for giving too much rather than too little

HENRY G. BOHN

York Street Covent Garden
April 28th 1859

LIST OF THE WOOD CUTS

IN BUTLER'S HUDIBRAS

DESIGNED BY THURSTON

VIGNETTE ON PRINTED TITLE, engraved by *Thompson*
 Then did Sir Knight abandon dwelling
 And out he rode a colonelling —
 A Squire he had whose name was Ralph
 That in th' adventure went his half l 13 14, 407 8

ENGRAVED TITLE HEAD OF HUDIBRAS *Thompson*
 Thus was he gifted and accoutred —
 His tawny beard was th' equal grace
 Both of his wisdom and his face
 In cut and dye so like a tile
 A sudden view it would beguile l 237—244

HEAD PIECE, PART I CANTO I *White*
 When Gospel Trumpeter, surrounded
 With long ear'd rout to battle sounded
 And pulpit drum ecclesiastick
 Was beat with fist, instead of a stick l 9—12

TAIL PIECE, PART I CANTO I
 —he always chose
 To carry vittle in his hose
 That often tempted rats and mice
 The ammunition to surprise l 318—321

HEAD PIECE PART I CANTO II *Thompson*
 And wing'd with speed and fury flew
 To rescue Knight from black and blue
 Which ere he could achieve his scone
 The leg encounter'd twice and once
 And now twas rais'd, to smite agen,
 When Ralpho thrust himself between l 941—946

- TAIL PIECE, PART I CANTO II, engraved by *Branston*
 Crowdero making doleful face,
 Like hermit poor in pensive place,
 To dungeon they the wretch commit,
 And the survivor of his feet 1 1167—1170
- HEAD PIECE, PART I CANTO III *Branston*
 When setting ope the postern gate
 To take the field and sally at,
 The foe appear d, drawn up and drill d,
 Ready to charge them in the field 1 443—446
- TAIL PIECE, PART I CANTO III
 ———in a cool shade,
 Which eglantine and roses made
 Close by a softly murm ring stream
 Where lovers us d to loll and dream
 There leaving him to his repose 1 159—163.
- HEAD PIECE, PART II CANTO I *Thompson*
 ———she went
 To find the Knight in limbo pent
 And twas not long before she found
 Him, and his stout Squire, in the pound 1 99—102
- TAIL PIECE, PART II CANTO I *Branston*
 ——— a tall long sided dame,—
 But wond rous light—yeleped Fame,—
 Upon her shoulders wings she wears
 Like hanging sleeves lnn d thro with ears 1 45—50
- HEAD PIECE, PART II CANTO II *Branston*
 With that he seiz d upon his blad
 And Ralpho too, as quick and bold
 Upon his basket hilt laud hold 1 560—562
- TAIL PIECE, PART II CANTO II *Thompson*
 —quitting both their swords and reins
 They grasp d with all their strength the manes
 And to avoid the foe s pursuit,
 With spurring put their cattle to t 1 839—842

HEAD PIECE, PART II CANTO III, engraved by *Branston*

——Hudibras, to all appearing,
Believ'd him to be dead as herring
He held it now no longer safe
To tarry the return of Ralph,
But rather leave him in the lurch

l 1147—1151

TAIL PIECE, PART II CANTO III *White*

This Sidrophel by chance espy d,
And with amazement staring wide
Bless us quoth he, what dreadful wonder
Is that appears in heaven yonder ?

l 423—426

HEAD PIECE TO THE EPISTLE TO SIDROPHEL *Byfield*

Sidrophel perusing Hudibras Epistle

TAIL PIECE TO THE EPISTLE TO SIDROPHEL *Byfield*

Gimcracks, whims, and jiggumbobs

HEAD PIECE, PART III CANTO I *Thompson*

He wonder'd how she came to know
What he had done and meant to do
Held up his affidavit hand
As if he ad been to be arraign d

l 483—486

TAIL PIECE, PART III CANTO I *Branston*

H attack d the window, storm d the glass
And in a moment gain d the pass
Thro which he dragg d the worsted soldier s
Four quarters out by th head and shoulders

l 1577—1580

HEAD PIECE, PART III CANTO II *Thompson*

Knights citizens, and burgesses—
Held forth by rumps—of pigs and geese —
Each bonfire is a funeral pile
In which they roast, and scorch and broil

l 1515—1520

TAIL PIECE, PART III CANTO II *Thompson*

——crowded on with so much haste,
Until they d block d the passage fast
And barricado d it with haunches
Of outward men, and bulks and paunches

l 1669—1672

HEAD PIECE, PART III CANTO III, engraved by *Hughes*

To this brave man the Knight repairs
 For counsel in his law affairs —
 To whom the Knight with comely grace
 Put off his hat to put his case l 621—628

TAIL PIECE, PART III CANTO III *Byfield*

With books and money plac'd for show
 Like nest eggs to make clients lay l 624 625

HEAD PIECE TO THE EPISTLE TO THE LADY *Byfield*

—having pump'd up all his wit,
 And humm'd upon it, thus he writ l 787, 788

TAIL PIECE TO THE EPISTLE TO THE LADY *Byfield*

What tender sigh, and trickling tear
 Longs for a thousand pounds a year
 And languishing transports are fond
 Of statute, mortgage bill and bond l 85—88

HEAD PIECE TO THE LADY'S ANSWER *Thompson*

She open'd it, and read it out
 With many a smile and leering flout l 357, 358

TAIL PIECE TO THE LADY'S ANSWER *Branston*

We make the man of war strike sail,
 And to our braver conduct veil,
 And when he's chas'd his enemies,
 Submit to us upon his knees l 311—314

VIGNETTE AT PAGE XXIV *Thompson*

The dogs beat you at Brentford Fair
 Where sturdy butchers broke your noddle Part II c iii
 And handled you like a fop doodle l 995—998

VIGNETTE AT PAGE 473

—the foe beat up his quarters
 And storm'd the outworks of his fortress —
 Soon as they had him at their mercy Part III c i
 They put him to the cudgel fiercely l 1135 36 1147 48

THE LIFE

OF

SAMUEL BUTLER

THE life of a retired scholar can furnish but little matter to the biographer such was the character of Mr Samuel Butler author of Hudibras His father whose name was likewise Samuel had an estate of his own of about ten pounds yearly which still goes by the name of Butlers tenement he likewise rented lands at three hundred pounds a year under Sir William Russel, lord of the manor of Strensham, in Worcestershire He was a respectable farmer wrote a clerk like hand kept the register and managed all the business of the parish From his landlord, near whose house he lived, the poet imbibed principles of loyalty, as Sir William was a most zealous royalist and spent great part of his fortune in the cause being the only person exempted from the benefit of the treaty, when Worcester surrendered to the parliament in the year 1646 Our poets father was elected churchwarden of the parish the year before his son Samuel was born and has entered his baptism, dated February 8th 1612 with his own hand in the parish register He had four sons and three daughters born at Strensham the three daughters and one son older than our poet and two sons younger none of his descendants however remain in the parish though some are said to be in the neighbouring villages

Our author received his first rudiments of learning at home but was afterwards sent to the college school at Worcester, then taught by Mr Henry Bright,* prebendary

* Mr Bright is buried in the cathedral church of Worcester, near the north pillar, at the foot of the steps which lead to the choir He was born

of that cathedral, a celebrated scholar, and many years master of the King's school there, one who made his profession his delight, and though in very easy circumstances, continued to teach for the sake of doing good

How long Mr Butler continued under his care is not known, but, probably, till he was fourteen years old. There can be little doubt that his progress was rapid, for Aubrey tells us that "when but a boy he would make observations and reflections on everything one said or did, and censure it to be either well or ill," and we are also informed in the Biography of 1710 (the basis of all information about him), that he "became an excellent scholar." Amongst his school fellows was Thomas Hall, well known as a controversial writer on the Puritan side, and master of the free school at King's Norton, where he died, John Toy, afterwards an author, and master of the school at Worcester, William Rowland, who turned Romanist, and, having some talent for rhyming satire, wrote lampoons at Paris, under the title of *Rolandus Palngennus*, and Warmestry, afterwards Dean of Worcester

1562, appointed schoolmaster 1586, made prebendary 1619 died 1626
The inscription in capitals, on a mural stone, now placed in what is called the Bishop's Chapel is as follows

Mane hospes et lege,
Magister HENRICUS BRIGHT
Celeberrimus gymnasiarcha
Qui scholæ regis istic fundatæ per totos 40 annos
summa cum laude præfuit,
Quo non alter magis sedulus fuit, scitusive, ac dexter,
in Latinis Græcis Hebraicis litteris,
felicitè edocendis
Teste utraque academia quam instruxit affatim
numerosa plebe literaria
Sed et totidem annis eoque amplius theologiam professus,
Et hujus ecclesiæ per septennium canonicus major
Sæpius hie et alibi sacrum Dei præconem
magno cum zelo et fructu egit
Vir pius, doctus, integer, frugi, de republica
deque ecclesia optime meritus
A laboribus per diu noctuque
ad 1626 strenue usque exantlatis
4 Marti suaviter requievit
in Domino

See this epitaph written by Dr Joseph Hall dean of Worcester, in Fuller's Worthies, p 177

Whether he was ever entered at any university is uncertain His early biographer says he went to Cambridge but was never matriculated Wood, on the authority of Butler's brother, says, the poet spent six or seven years there but there is great reason to doubt the truth of this Some expressions in his works look as if he were acquainted with the customs of Oxford and among them coursing, which was a term peculiar to that university (see Part III c 11 v 1244) but this kind of knowledge might have been easily acquired without going to Oxford, and as the speculation is entirely unsupported by circumstantial proofs, it may be safely rejected Upon the whole, the probability is that Butler never went to either of the Universities His father was not rich enough to defray the expenses of a collegiate course and could not have effected it by any other means there being at that time no exhibitions at the Worcester School

Some time after Butler had completed his education, he obtained, through the interest of the Russels, the situation of clerk to Thomas Jefferies, of Earl's Croombe, Esq, an active justice of the peace, and a leading man in the business of the province This was no mean office, but one that required a knowledge of law and the British constitution, and a proper deportment to men of every rank and occupation, besides, in those times, when large mansions were generally in retired situations, every large family was a community within itself the upper servants, or retainers being often the younger sons of gentlemen, were treated as friends, and the whole household dined in one common hall and had a lecturer or clerk, who, during meal times, read to them some useful or entertaining book

Mr Jefferies family was of this sort, situated in a retired part of the country, surrounded by bad roads, the master of it residing constantly in Worcestershire Here Mr Butler having leisure to indulge his inclination for learning probably improved himself very much, not only in the abstruser branches of it but in the polite arts and here he studied painting "Our Hogarth of Poetry, says Walpole "was a painter too" and, according to Aubrey, his love of the pencil introduced him to the friendship of that prince of painters, Samuel Cooper But his proficiency seems to have

been but moderate, for Mr Nash tells us that he recollects 'seeing at Earl's Croombe some portraits said to be painted by him, which did him no great honour as an artist, and were consequently used to stop up windows' * He heard also of a portrait of Oliver Cromwell, said to be painted by him

After continuing some time at Earl's Croombe how long is not exactly known he quitted it for a more agreeable situation in the household of Elizabeth Countess of Kent, who lived at Wrest in Bedfordshire He seems to have been attached to her service † as one of her gentlemen, to whom she is said to have paid £20 a year each The time when he entered upon this situation which Aubrey says he held for several years, may be determined with some degree of accuracy by the fact that he found Selden there and was frequently engaged by him in writing letters and making translations It was in June 1628, after the prorogation of the third parliament of Charles I that Selden, who sat in the House of Commons for Lancaster retired to Wrest for the purpose of completing with the advantages of quiet and an extensive library his labours on the *Marmora Arundeliana* and we may presume that it was during the interval of the parliamentary recess while Selden was thus occupied, that Butler, then in his seventeenth year entered her service Here he enjoyed a literary retreat during great part of the civil wars and here probably laid the groundwork of his *Hudibras* as, besides the society of that living library Selden he had the benefit of a good collection of books He lived

* In his MS common place book is the following observation

"It is more difficult and requires a greater mastery of art in painting to foreshorten a figure exactly, than to draw thee at their just length so it is in writing to express anything naturally and briefly, than to enlarge and dilate

And therefore a judicious author's blots
Are more ingenious than his first free thoughts

† The Countess is described by the early biographer of Butler as 'a great encourager of learning After the death of the Earl of Kent in 1639 Selden is said to have been domesticated with her at Wrest, and in her town house in White Friars Aubrey affirms that he was married to her, but that he never acknowledged the marriage till after her death on account of some law affairs The Countess died in 1651 and appointed Selden her executor leaving him her house in White Friars

subsequently in the service of Sir Samuel Luke, of Cople Hoo farm, or Wood End, in that county, and his biographers are generally of opinion that from him he drew the character of Hudibras [†] but there is no actual evidence of this, and such a prototype was not rare in those times. Sir Samuel Luke lived at Wood End, or Cople Hoo farm. Cople is three miles south of Bedford and in its church are still to be seen many monuments of the Luke family, who flourished in that part of the country as early as the reign of Henry VIII. He was knighted in 1624 was a rigid Presbyterian high in the favour of Cromwell a colonel in the army of the parliament, a justice of the peace for Bedford and Surrey scoutmaster general for Bedfordshire which he represented in the Long Parliament and governor of Newport Pagnell. He possessed ample estates in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire and devoted his fortune to the promotion of the popular cause. His house was the open resort of the Puritans, whose frequent meetings for the purposes of counsel, prayer and preparation for the field, afforded Butler an opportunity of observing under all their phases of inspiration and action the characters of the men whose influence was working a revolution in the country. But Sir Samuel did not approve of the king's trial and execution and therefore, with other Presbyterians both he and his father, Sir Oliver, were among the secluded members. It has been generally supposed that the scenes Butler witnessed on these occasions suggested to him the subject of his great poem. That it was at this period he threw into shape some of the striking points of *Hudibras*, is extremely probable. He kept a common place book, in which he was in the habit of noting down particular thoughts and fugitive criticisms and Mr Thyer, the editor of his *Remains*, who had this book in his possession, says that it was full of shrewd remarks, paradoxes, and witty sarcasms.

The first part of *Hudibras* came out at the end of the year 1662, and its popularity was so great that it was pirated almost as soon as it appeared [†]. In the *Mercurius Aulicus*,

* See notes at page 4

† The first part was ready November 11th 1662, when the author obtained an imprimatur signed J Berkenhead but the date of the title is 1663 and Sir Roger L'Estrange granted an imprimatur for the second part, dated November 5th, 1663

a ministerial newspaper from January 1st to January 8th, 1662 (1663 N S), quarto, is an advertisement saying that "there is stolen abroad a most false and imperfect copy of a poem called *Hudibras*, without name either of printer or bookseller the true and perfect edition, printed by the author's original, is sold by Richard Marriot, near St Dunstan's Church, in Fleet street, that other nameless impression is a cheat, and will but abuse the buyer as well as the author, whose poem deserves to have fallen into better hands. After several other editions had followed the first and second parts, *with notes to both parts* were printed for J Martin and H Herringham octavo, 1674. The last edition of the third part, before the author's death was published by the same persons in 1678 this must be the last corrected by himself and is that from which subsequent editions are generally printed, the third part had no notes put to it during the author's life, and who furnished them (in 1710) after his death is not known.

In the British Museum is the original injunction by authority, signed John Berkenhead, forbidding any printer or other person whatsoever, to print *Hudibras*, or any part thereof, without the consent or approbation of Samuel Butler (or Boteler), Esq or his assignees, given at Whitehall 10th September, 1677. copy of this injunction is given in the note *

The reception of *Hudibras* at Court is probably without a parallel in the history of books. The king was so enchanted with it that he carried it about in his pocket, and perpetually garnished his conversation with specimens of its witty passages, which thus stamped by royal approbation, passed rapidly into general currency. Nor was his Majesty

* CHARLES R. Our will and pleasure is and we do hereby strictly charge and command that no printer bookseller stationer or other person whatsoever within our kingdom of England or Ireland do print reprint, utter or sell or cause to be printed reprinted, uttered or sold, a book or poem called *HUDIBRAS*, or any part thereof without the consent and approbation of Samuel Boteler Esq or his assignees as they and every of them will answer the contrary at their perils. Given at our Court at Whitehall the tenth day of September in the year of our Lord God 1677, and in the 29th year of our reign By his Majesty's command

Jo BERKENHEAD

Muscel Papers, Mus Brit Bibl Birch, No 4293

content with merely quoting Butler, in an access of enthusiasm he sent for him that he might gratify his curiosity by the sight of a poet who had contributed so largely to his amusement. The Lord Chancellor Hyde showered promises of patronage upon him, and hung up his portrait in his library*. Every person about the Court considered it his duty to make himself familiar with *Hudibras*. It was munted into proverbs and bon mots. No book was so much read. No book was so much cited. From the palace it found its way at once into the chocolate houses and taverns, and attained a rapid popularity all over the kingdom.

Lord Dorset was so much struck by its extraordinary merit that he desired to be introduced to the author. "His lordship," according to this curious anecdote, "having a great desire to spend an evening as a private gentleman with the author of *Hudibras*, prevailed with Mr Fleetwood Shepherd to introduce him into his company at a tavern which they used, in the character only of a common friend, this being done, Mr Butler, while the first bottle was drinking appeared very flat and heavy, at the second bottle brisk and lively, full of wit and learning, and a most agreeable companion, but before the third bottle was finished, he sunk again into such deep stupidity and dullness, that hardly anybody would have believed him to be the author of a book which abounded with so much wit, learning, and pleasantry. Next morning, Mr Shepherd asked his lordship's opinion of Butler who answered, 'He is like a nine pin, little at both ends, but great in the middle.'

Pepys gives us a curious illustration of the sudden and extraordinary success of *Hudibras* and the excitement it occasioned in the reading world. See Memoirs, (Bohn's edit.) vol. i p. 364, 380, vol. ii p. 68, 72.

* AUBREY says, 'Butler printed a witty poem called *Hudibras*, which took extremely so that the King and Lord Chancellor Hyde would have him sent for. They both promised him great matters but to this day he has got no employment. EVELYN, writing to Pepys in August, 1689, speaks of Butler's portrait as being hung in the Chancellor's dining room and, what was most agreeable to his lordship's general humour, old Chaucer, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher who were both in one piece, Spenser, Mr Waller, Cowley, Hudibras, which last was placed in the room where he used to eat and dine in public, most of which, if not all, are at Cornbury in Oxfordshire.'

It was natural to suppose that after the Restoration, and the publication of his *Hudibras* our poet should have appeared in public life and have been rewarded for the eminent service which his poem by giving new popularity to the Cavalier party, and covering their enemies with derision and contempt did to the royal cause. Every eye, says Dr Johnson, 'watched for the golden shower which was to fall upon its author, who certainly was not without his part in the general expectation. But his innate modesty and studious turn of mind prevented solicitations never having tasted the idle luxuries of life he did not make for himself needless wants, or pine after imaginary pleasures. his fortune, indeed, was small, and so was his ambition. his integrity of life and modest temper, rendered him contented. There is good authority for believing however, that at one time he was gratified with an order on the treasury for 300*l* which is said to have passed all the offices without payment of fees and this gave him an opportunity of displaying his disinterested integrity, by conveying the entire sum immediately to a friend in trust for the use of his creditors. Dr Zachary Pearce, on the authority of Mr Lowndes of the treasury asserts that Mr Butler received from Charles the Second an annual pension of 100*l*. add to this he was appointed secretary to the Earl of Carberry then lord president of the principality of Wales, and soon after steward of Ludlow castle * an office which he seems to have held in 1661 and 1662 but possibly earlier and later. With all this, the Court was thought to have been guilty of a glaring neglect in his case and the public were scandalized at its ingratitude. The indigent poets, who have always claimed a prescriptive right to live on the munificence of their contemporaries were the loudest in their remonstrances. Dryden Oldham, and Otway while in appearance they complained of the unrewarded merits of our author, obliquely lamented their private and particular grievances. Nash says that Mr Butler's own sense of the disappointment, and the impression it made on his spirits, are sufficiently marked by the circumstance of his having twice transcribed the following distich with some variation in his MS common place book

* It was at Ludlow Castle that Milton's *Comus* was first acted

To think how Spenser died how Cowley mourn d,
How Butler s faith and service were return d

In the same MS he says, "Wit is very chargeable, and not to be maintained in its necessary expenses at an ordinary rate it is the worst trade in the world to live upon and a commodity that no man thinks he has need of, for those who have least believe they have most "

——— Ingenuity and wit
Do only make the owners fit
For nothing but to be undone
Much easier than if th had none

But a recent biographer controverts this, and takes a more probable view of it he says, 'The assumption of Butler s poverty appears utterly unfounded Though not wealthy, he seems, as far as we can judge to have always lived in comfort, and we know from the statement of Mr Longueville that he died out of debt Butler was not one of those

Who hoped to make their fortune by the great

and though no doubt he might have felt he had not been rewarded according to his deserts by his party, he was not entirely neglected He had received a large share of popular applause, and was probably prouder of that, and of the power of castigating the follies and vices of mankind even when displayed by those of his own party, than of being a more highly pensioned dependant of a Court that his writings show he despised He was no 'needy wretch' in want of bread or a dinner his earliest biographer gives no hint of his distress, he enjoyed friends of his own selection and the injunction designates him as 'esquire a title not altogether so indiscriminately applied as at the present time The only foundation for the assertion of his poverty consists in his having copied twice, in his common place book, a distich from the prologue to the tragedy of Constantine the Great said to have been written by Otway though it was not acted till 1684 four years after Butler s death It is supposed he might have seen the MS, or perhaps only heard the thought, as his copies vary from each other and from the lines as they ultimately appeared It was, however, long the fashion to complain of

the scanty reward bestowed on literary pursuits, yet we are inclined to think, though authors had then a less certain support in the patronage of a few than now when they appeal to a numerous public, that the improvidence of the individual was more to blame than the niggardliness of the patrons, and of this improvidence there does not appear to be the slightest ground for accusing Butler.

Mr Butler spent some time in France, it is supposed when Lewis XIV was in the height of his glory and vanity, but neither the language nor manners of Paris were pleasing to our modest poet. As some of his observations are amusing, they are inserted in a note.* About

* "The French use so many words, upon all occasions that if they did not cut them short in pronunciation they would grow tedious, and in sufferable

'They infinitely affect rhyme though it becomes their language the worst in the world and spoils the little sense they have to make room for it, and make the same syllable rhyme to itself which is worse than metal upon metal in heraldry' they find it much easier to write plays in verse than in prose for it is much harder to imitate nature, than any deviation from her and prose requires a more proper and natural sense and expression than verse that has something in the stamp and coin to answer for the alloy and want of intrinsic value. I never came among them, but the following line was in my mind

Raucaque garrulitas, studiumque inane loquendi
for they talk so much they have not time to think and if they had all the wit in the world, their tongues would run before it

"The present king of France is building a most stately triumphal arch in memory of his victories and the great actions which he has performed but, if I am not mistaken, those edifices which bear that name at Rome were not raised by the emperors whose names they bear (such as Trajan Titus, &c.), but were decreed by the Senate, and built at the expense of the public for that glory is lost which any man designs to consecrate to himself

"The king takes a very good course to weaken the city of Paris by adorning of it, and to render it less by making it appear greater and more glorious for he pulls down whole streets to make room for his palaces and public structures

"There is nothing great or magnificent in all the country that I have seen, but the buildings and furniture of the king's houses and the churches all the rest is mean and paltry

"The king is necessitated to lay heavy taxes upon his subjects in his own defence and to keep them poor in order to keep them quiet for if they are suffered to enjoy any plenty they are naturally so insolent, that they would become ungovernable, and use him as they have done his predecessors but he has rendered himself so strong, that they have no thoughts of attempting anything in his time

this time he married Mrs Herbert, a lady reputed to be of good family, but whether she was a widow, or not is uncertain, as the evidence is conflicting. With her he expected a considerable fortune but through the greater part of it having been put out on bad security and other losses, occasioned it is said, by knavery it was of but little advantage to him. To this some have attributed his severe strictures upon the professors of the law, but if his censures be properly considered they will be found to bear hard only upon the disgraceful part of the profession, and upon false learning in general.

How long he continued in office, as steward of Ludlow Castle, is not known, but there is no evidence of his having exercised it after 1662. Anthony a Wood on the authority of Aubrey, says that he became secretary to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, when he was Chancellor of Cambridge, but this is doubted by Grey, who nevertheless allows the Duke to have been his frequent benefactor. That both these assertions are false there is reason to suspect from a story told by Packe in his *Life of Wycherley*, as well as from Butler's character of the Duke which will be found on next page. The story is this "Mr Wycherley had always laid hold of any opportunity which offered of representing to the Duke of Buckingham how well Mr Butler had deserved of the royal family by writing his imitable *Hudibras* and that it was a reproach to the Court that a person of his loyalty and wit should suffer in obscurity and want. The Duke seemed always to listen to him with attention enough and after some time undertook to recommend his pretensions to his Majesty. Mr Wycherley in hopes to keep him steady to his word, obtained of his Grace to name a day when he might introduce that modest and unfortunate poet to

"The churchmen overlook all other people as haughtily as the churches and steeples do private houses

"The French do nothing without ostentation and the king himself is not behind with his triumphal arches consecrated to himself, and his impress of the sun *nec pluribus impar*

'The French king having copies of the best pictures from Rome, is as a great prince wearing clothes at second hand the king in his prodigious charge of buildings and furniture does the same thing to himself that he means to do by Paris, renders himself weaker by endeavouring to appear the more magnificent lets go the substance for the shadow

his new patron. At last an appointment was made, and the place of meeting was agreed to be the Roebuck. Mr Butler and his friend attended accordingly. The Duke joined them, but as the devil would have it, the door of the room where they sat was open, and his Grace who had seated himself near it, observing a pimp of his acquaintance (the creature too was a knight) trip along with a brace of ladies, immediately quitted his engagement, to follow another kind of business, at which he was more ready than in doing good offices to those of desert, though no one was better qualified than he was, both in regard to his fortune and understanding. From that time to the day of his death poor Butler never found the least effect of his promise. The character drawn by the poet of the Duke of Buckingham, which we annex in a note,* will be conclusive that he was not likely to have received any favour at his hands.

* "A Duke of Bucks is one that has studied the whole body of vice. His parts are disproportionate, and, like a monster, he has more of some and less of others than he should have. He has pulled down all that fabric which nature raised to him and built himself up again after a model of his own. He has dammed up all those lights that nature made into the noblest prospects of the world, and opened other little blind loop holes backwards by turning day into night, and night into day. His appetite to his pleasures is diseased and crazy like the pica in a woman, that longs to eat what was never made for food or a gul in the green sickness, that eats chalk and mortar. Perpetual surfeits of pleasure have filled his mind with bad and vicious humours (as well as his body with a nursery of diseases), which makes him affect new and extravagant ways as being tired and sick of the old. Continual wine, women, and music put false values upon things, which by custom become habitual and debauch his understanding so that he retains no right notion nor sense of things. And as the same dose of the same physic has no operation on those that are much used to it, so his pleasures require a larger proportion of excess and variety to render him sensible of them. He rises, eats, and goes to bed by the Julian account long after all others that go by the new style and keeps the same hours with owls and the antipodes. He is a great observer of the Tartars' customs and never eats till the great Cham having dined makes proclamation that all the world may go to dinner. He does not dwell in his house but haunts it like an evil spirit that walks all night to disturb the family and never appears by day. He lives perpetually benighted, runs out of his life and loses his time as men do their ways in the dark and as blind men are led by their dogs, so he is governed by some mean servant or other that relates to him his pleasures. He is as inconstant as the moon which he lives under and, although he does nothing but advise with his pillow all day, he is as great a stranger to himself as he is to the rest of the world. His mind entertains all things very freely that come

Notwithstanding discouragement and neglect Butler still prosecuted his design and in 1678 after an interval of nearly 15 years published the third part of his *Hudibras* which closes the poem somewhat abruptly With this came out *the Epistle to the Lady* and *the Lady's Answer* How much more he originally intended and with what events the action was to be concluded, it is vain to conjecture After this period, we hear nothing of him till his death at the age of 68 which took place on the 25th of November, 1680 in Rose Street * Covent Garden where he had for some years resided He was buried at the expense of Mr William Longueville though he did not die in debt This gentleman with other of his friends wished to have him interred in Westminster Abbey with proper solemnity but endeavoured in vain to obtain a sufficient subscription for that purpose His corpse was deposited privately six feet deep according to his own request in the yard belonging to the church of Saint Paul s, Covent Garden, at the west end of it, on the north side under the wall of the church, and under that wall which parts the yard from the common highway The burial service was performed by the learned Dr Patrick, then minister of the parish and afterwards Bishop of Ely In the year 1786 when the church was repaired, a marble monument was placed on the south side of the church on the inside,† by some of the parishioners whose zeal for the memory of the learned poet does them honour but the writer of the verses seems to have

and go but like guests and strangers, they are not welcome if they stay long This lays him open to all cheats quacks and impostors who apply to every particular humour while it lasts and afterwards vanish Thus with St Paul though in a different sense he dies daily and only lives in the night He deforms nature while he intends to adorn her like Indians that hang jewels in their lips and noses His ears are perpetually drilled with a fiddlestick He endures pleasures with less patience than other men do pains

* A narrow and now rather obscure street, which runs circuitously from King Street Covent Garden to Long Acre The site of the house is not now known Curll the bookseller carried on his business here at the same time and Dryden lived within a stone's throw in Long Acre, 'over against Rose Street

† This monument was a tablet which of late years was affixed under the vestry room window in that part of the church yard where his body is supposed to lie In 1854 when the church yard was closed against further burials the tablet, then in a dilapidated condition, was carted away with other debris

mistaken the character of Mr Butler The inscription runs thus

"This little monument was erected in the year 1786, by some of the parishioners of Covent Garden in memory of the celebrated Samuel Butler, who was buried in this church
A D 1680

A few plain men to pomp and state unknown,
O'er a poor bard have rais'd this humble stone,
Whose wants alone his genius could surpass
Victim of zeal! the matchless Hudibras!
What though fair freedom suffer'd in his page,
Reader forgive the author for the age!
How few alas! disdain to cringe and cant
When 'tis the mode to play the sycophant
But oh! let all be taught from Butler's fate
Who hope to make their fortunes by the great
That wit and pride are always dangerous things,
And little faith is due to courts and kings

Forty years after his burial at Covent Garden that is, in 1721, John Barber, an eminent printer, and Lord Mayor of London, erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, with the following inscription

M S
Samuelis Butler
Qui Strenshamæ in agro Vigorn natus 1612
Obiit Lond 1680
Vir doctus imprimis acer integer
Operibus ingenu non item præmiis felix
Satyrici apud nos carminis artifex egregius,
Qui simulatæ religionis lævam detraxit
Et perduellum scelera liberrime exagitavit
Scriptorum in suo genere primus et postremus
Ne cui vivo deerant fere omnia
Deesset etiam mortuo tumulus
Hoc tandem posito marmore curavit
Johannes Barber civis Londinensis 1721 *

* Translation — Sacred to the memory of Samuel Butler who was born at Strensham in Worcestershire, in 1612 and died in London in 1680, — a man of great learning acuteness, and integrity happy in the productions of his intellect not so in the remuneration of them a super eminent master of satirical poetry by which he lifted the mask of hypocrisy, and boldly exposed the crimes of faction As a writer he was the first and last in his peculiar style John Barber a citizen of London in 1721 by at length erecting this marble took care that he who wanted almost everything when alive, might not also want a tomb when dead *For an Engraving of the Monument, see Dart's Westminster Abbey, vol 1 plate 3*

On the latter part of this epitaph the ingenious Mr Samuel Wesley wrote the following lines

While Butler needy wretch was yet alive,
 No generous patron would a dinner give
 See him, when starv'd to death, and turn'd to dust,
 Presented with a monumental bust
 The poet's fate is here in emblem shown
 He ask'd for bread, and he received a stone

Soon after this monument was erected in Westminster Abbey, some persons proposed to erect one in Covent Garden church, for which Mr Dennis wrote the following inscription

Near this place lies interr'd
 The body of Mr Samuel Butler
 Author of Hudibras
 He was a whole species of poets in one
 Admirable in a manner
 In which no one else has been tolerable
 A manner which begun and ended in him,
 In which he knew no guide,
 And has found no followers
 Nat 1612 Ob 1680

While in London where Butler died, these tributes to his genius were set up at intervals by men of opposite principles, the place of his birth remained without any memorial until within the last few years, when a white marble tablet, with florid canopy, crockets and finial, was placed in the parish church of Strensham, by John Taylor, of Strensham Court, Esq, upon whose estate the poet was born. In the design is a small figure of Hudibras, and the face of the tablet bears the following simple inscription

"This tablet was erected to the memory of Samuel Butler, to transmit to future ages that near this spot was born a mind so celebrated. In Westminster Abbey, among the poets of England, his fame is recorded. Here, in his native village, in veneration of his talents and genius, this tribute to his memory has been erected by the possessor of the place of his birth—John Taylor Strensham."

What became of the lady he married is unknown, as there is no subsequent trace of her, but it is presumed she died before him. Mr Gilfillan assumes that "subscriptions were raised for his widow," but gives no authority, and we believe none exists.

"Hudibras (says Mr Nash) is Mr Butler's capital work, and though the Characters, Poems, Thoughts, &c published as Remains by Mr Thyer, in two volumes octavo, are certainly written by the same masterly hand, though they abound with lively sallies of wit, and display a copious variety of erudition yet the nature of the subjects their not having received the author's last corrections, and many other reasons which might be given render them less acceptable to the present taste of the public which no longer relishes the antiquated mode of writing characters, cultivated when Butler was young by men of genius such as Bishop Earle and Mr Cleveland

The three small volumes entitled Posthumous Works in prose and verse by Mr Samuel Butler author of Hudibras, printed 1715 1716 1717 are all spurious except the Pindaric Ode on Duval the highwayman and one or two of the prose pieces Mr Nash says As to the MSS which after Mr Butler's death came into the hands of Mr Longueville and from which Mr Thyer published his Genuine Remains in the year 1759, what remain unpublished are either in the hands of the ingenious Doctor Farmer of Cambridge or myself For Mr Butler's Common place Book mentioned by Mr Thyer I am indebted to the liberal and public spirited James Massey Esq of Rosthern near Knutsford Cheshire

The poet's frequent and correct use of law terms* is a sufficient proof that he was well versed in that science but if further evidence were wanting, says Mr Nash, 'I can produce a MS purchased of some of our poet's relations, at the Hay, in Brecknockshire which appears to be a collection of legal cases and principles, regularly related from Lord Coke's Commentary on Littleton's Tenures The language is Norman or law French and the authorities in the margin of the MS correspond exactly with those given on the same positions in the first institute The first book of the MS ends with the 84th section, which same number of sections also terminates the first institute, and the second book is entitled *Le second livre del premier part del Institutes de Ley d'Engleterre* It may, therefore reasonably be presumed to have been compiled by Butler solely from Coke

* Butler is said to have been a member of Gray's Inn, and of a club with Cleveland and other wits inclined to the royal cause

H U D I B R A S.

PART I CANTO I

THE ARGUMENT

SIR HUDIBRAS¹ his passing worth,
The manner how he sallied forth
His arms and equipage are shown
His horse's virtues and his own
Th' adventure of the bear and fiddle
Is sung but breaks off in the middle²

¹ Butler probably took the name of Hudibras from Spencer's *Lairy Queen*, B ii C ii St 17

He that made love unto the eldest dame
Was hight Sir Hudibras an hardy man
Yet not so good of deeds as great of name
Which he by many rash adventures wan
Since errant arms to sew he first began

Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions a British king of this name as living about the time of Solomon and reigning 39 years. He is said to have composed all the dissensions among his people. Others have supposed it derived from the French Hugo or Hu de Bras, signifying Hugh with the strong arms; thus Fortinbras, Firebras.

In the *Grub street Journal Col. Rolls* a Devonshire gentleman is said to be satirized under the character of Hudibras, and it is asserted that Hugh de Bras was the name of the old tutelary saint of that county. Dr Grey had been informed on credible authority that the person intended was Sir Henry Rosewell of Ford Abbey Devonshire but it is idle to look for personal reflections in a poem designed for a general satire on hy poocrisy, enthusiasm, and false learning. There is no doubt however that Sir Samuel Luke of Bedfordshire is the likeliest hero. See lines 15 and 202.

² A ridicule on Ronsard's *Franciadé*, and Sir William Davenant's *Conduict*, both unfinished.

HUDIBRUS CANTO I



WHEN civil dudgeon¹ first grew high
 And men fell out they knew not why²
 When hard words³ jealousies and fears⁴
 Set folks together by the ears
 And made them fight like mad or drunk⁵
 For dame Religion as for Punk,
 Whose honesty they all durst swear for,
 Tho' not a man of them knew wherefore
 When Gospel Trumpeter surrounded⁵
 With long ear d⁶ rout to battle sounded

10

¹ To take in *dudgeon* is inwardly to resent some injury or affront a sort of grumbling in the gizzard (as Tom Hood has said) and what is previous to actual fury. It was altered by Mr Butler in his edition of 1674 to civil fury and so stood until 1700. But the original word was restored in 1704 and has been adopted with two or three recent exceptions ever since and it unquestionably is most in keeping with the character of the poem. *Dudgeon* in its primitive sense is a dagger and is so used towards the close of the present canto.

² It may be justly said they knew not why since as Lord Clarendon observes "The like peace and plenty and universal tranquillity, was never enjoyed by any nation for ten years together before these unhappy troubles began."

³ The jargon and cant words used by the Presbyterians and other sectaries such as gospel walking times soul saving, carnal minded, carrying on workings out committee dom, &c. They called themselves the elect the saints, the predestinated and their opponents Papists, Prelatists reprobrates &c &c. They set the people against the Common prayer, which they asserted was the mass book in English and nicknamed it Porridge and enraged them against the surplice, calling it a rag of Popery, the whore of Babylon's smock and the smock of the whore of Rome.

⁴ Jealousies and fears were words bandied between Charles I and the parliament in all their papers, before the absolute breaking out of the war. They were used by the parliament to the king in their petition for the militia March 1 1641 2 and by the king in his answer "You speak of jealousies and fears lay your hands to your heart and ask yourselves whether I may not be disturbed with jealousies and fears."

⁵ The Presbyterians (many of whom before the war had got into parish churches) preached the people into rebellion incited them to take up arms and fight the Lord's battles and destroy the Amalekites root and branch hip and thigh. They told them also to bind their kings in chains and their nobles in links of iron. And Dr South has recorded that many of the regicides were drawn into the grand rebellion by the direful imprecations of sedicious preachers from the pulpit. See Spectator Nos 60 and 153.

⁶ The Puritans had a custom of putting their hands behind their ears at sermons and bending them forward under pretence of hearing the bet

And pulpit, drum ecclesiastick,
Was beat with fist instead of a stick ¹
Then did Sir Knight abandon dwelling,
And out he rode a colonelling ²

A Wight he was whose very sight would 15
Entitle him Mirror of Knighthood
That never bow'd his stubborn knee ³
To anything but chivalry,
Nor put up blow but that which laid
Right Worshipful on shoulder blade ⁴ 20
Chief of domestic knights, and errant
Either for chartel ⁵ or for warrant
Great on the bench great in the saddle
That could as well bind o'er, as swaddle ⁶

ter Five hundred or a thousand large ears were sometimes pricked up in this fashion as soon as the text was named and as they wore their hair very short (whence they were called round heads) they were the more prominent Dryden alludes to this in his line

"And pricks up his predestinating ears

¹ Radiculing their vehement action in the pulpit, and their beating it with their fists as if they were beating a drum

² Sir Samuel Luke of Bedfordshire is no doubt the type of our hero This has hitherto been merely surmised first by Grey and since by all his successors including Nash but the present editor possesses a copy of the original edition 1663 in which a MS Key evidently of the same date gives the name of Sir Samuel Luke without any question Sir Samuel was a rigid Presbyterian high in the favour of Cromwell justice of the peace chairman of the quarter sessions a colonel in the parliament army a committee man of his own county and scout master general in the counties of Bedford and Surrey Butler was for a time in the service of Sir Samuel, probably as secretary and though in the centre of Puritan meetings, was at heart a Royalist and a Churchman.

³ Alluding to the Presbyterians who refused to kneel at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper and insisted upon receiving it in a sitting or standing posture In some of the kirks in Scotland, the pews are so made, that it is very difficult for any one to kneel

⁴ That is did not kneel or submit to a blow except when the King dubbed him a knight Sir Kenelm Digby tells us that when King James I. who had an antipathy to a sword dubbed him knight, had not the Duke of Buckingham guided his hand aright in lieu of touching his shoulder, he had certainly run the point of it into his eye

⁵ A challenge also an agreement in writing between parties or armies which are enemies MS Key

⁶ Swaddle — This word has two opposite meanings one to beat or cudgel, the other to bind up or swathe, hence swaddling clothes. See Johnson, Webster &c

Mighty he was at both of these 25
 And styl'd of War as well as Peace
 So some rats of amphibious nature
 Are either for the land or water
 But here our authors make a doubt,
 Whether he were more wise or stout ¹ 30
 Some hold the one and some the other,
 But howsoe'er they make a pother
 The difference was so small his brain
 Outweigh'd his rage but half a grain
 Which made some take him for a tool 35
 That knaves do work with call'd a Fool
 For 't has been held by many that
 As Montaigne, playing with his cat



Complains she thought him but an ass ²
 Much more she would Sir Hudibras 40
 For that's the name our valiant knight
 To all his challenges did write
 But they're mistaken very much,
 'Tis plain enough he was no such,
 We grant although he had much wit,
 He was very shy of using it, 45

¹ A burlesque on the usual strain of rhetorical flattery when authors pretend to be puzzled which of their patrons' noble qualities they should give the preference to.

² See this playful passage (quoted from Montaigne, *Essays* ii 12) in Walton's *Angler*, chap. 1.

As being loth to wear it out,
 And therefore bore it not about,
 Unless on holy days or so
 As men their best apparel do 50
 Beside tis known he could speak Greek
 As naturally as pigs squeak ¹
 That Latin was no more difficile
 Than to a blackbird tis to whistle
 Being rich in both he never scanted 55
 His bounty unto such as wanted,
 But much of either would afford
 To many that had not one word
 For Hebrew roots although they re found
 To flourish most in barren ground,² 60
 He had such plenty as sufficed
 To make some think him circumcised,
 And truly so perhaps he was
 'Tis many a pious Christian s case ³ 65
 He was in Logic a great critic,
 Profoundly skill d in Analytic
 He could distinguish and divide
 A hair twixt south and south west side
 On either which he would dispute
 Confute change hands and still confute ⁴ 70
 He d undertake to prove by force
 Of argument a man s no horse

¹ 'He Greek and Latin speaks with greater ease
 Than hogs eat acorns, and tame pigeons peas

Cranfield s Panegyric on Tom Coriote

² Alluding probably to a notion promulgated by Echard and Sir Thomas Browne that as Hebrew is the primitive language of man, children, if removed from all society brought up in a wood and suckled by a wolf would at four years old instinctively speak Hebrew. Some students in Hebrew (especially John Ryland the friend of Robert Hall) have been very angry with these lines and assert that they have done more to prevent the study of that language, than all the professors have done to promote it

³ In the first editions this couplet was differently expressed

And truly so he was perhaps
 Not as a proselyte but for claps

⁴ Carneades the academic having one day disputed at Rome very copiously in praise of justice refuted every word on the morrow, by a train of contrary arguments — Something similar is said of Cardinal Perron

He d prove a buzzard is no fowl
 And that a Lord may be an owl
 A calf an Alderman¹ a goose a Justice 75
 And rool s Committee Men or Trustees³
 He d run in debt by disputation
 And pay with ratiocination
 All this by syllogism true
 In mood and figure he would do 80
 For Rhetoric he could not ope
 His mouth but out there flew a trope
 And when he happen d to break off
 I th middle of his speech or cough⁴
 H had hard words ready to show why⁵ 85
 And tell what rules he did it by
 Else when with greatest art he spoke
 You d think he talk d like other folk
 For all a Rhetorician s rules
 Teach nothing but to name his tools 90
 But when he pleased to show t his speech
 In loftiness of sound was rich

¹ Such was Alderman Penninton who sent a person to Newgate for singing what he called a malignant psalm

After the declaration of No more addresses to the king they who before were not above the condition of ordinary constables now became justices of the peace Chelmsford at the beginning of the rebellion was governed by two tailors two cobblers, two pedlars and a tinker

³ A rook is supposed to devour the grain hence by a figure applied to the committee men who under the authority of parliament harassed and oppressed the country devouring in an arbitrary manner the property of those they did not like An ordinance was passed in 1649 for the sale of the royal lands to pay the army the common soldiers purchasing by regiments like corporations and having trustees for the whole These trustees often purchased the soldiers shares at a very small price and cheated both officers and soldiers by detaining the trust estates for their own use

⁴ The preachers of those days looked upon coughing and hemming as ornaments of speech and when they printed their sermons noted in the margin where the preacher coughed or hemm d This practice was not confined to England for Olivier Maillard, a Cordelier, and famous preacher printed a sermon at Brussels in the year 1500 and marked in the margin where the preacher hemm d once or twice or coughed

⁵ Amongst the hard words of the rhetoricians ridiculed here were such as hyperbaton euphonesis asyndeton aporia homeosis hyperbole hypomene apedixis anadiplosis, &c. &c for the meanings of which see Webster's Dictionary

A Babylonish dialect,
 Which learned pedants much affect
 It was a parti colour d dress 90
 Of patch d and piebald languages
 Twas English cut on Greek and Latin
 Like fustian heretofore on satin ¹
 It had an odd promiscuous tone
 As if h had talk d three parts in one 100
 Which made some think, when he did gabble,
 Th had heard three labourers of Babel, ²
 Or Cerberus himself pronounce
 A leash of languages at once
 Thus he as volubly would vent 105
 As if his stock would ne er be spent
 And truly, to support that charge,
 He had supplies as vast and large
 For he could coin or counterfeit
 New words, with little or no wit 110
 Words so debased and hard, no stone
 Was hard enough to touch them on
 And when with hasty noise he spoke 'em,
 The ignorant for current took 'em
 That had the orator who once 115
 Did fill his mouth with pebble stones ³
 When he hurrangued, but known his phrase,
 He would have used no other ways
 In Mathematics he was greater
 Than Tycho Brahe, or Erra Pater ⁴ 120

¹ Slashed sleeves and hose may be seen in the pictures of Dobson, Van dyke and others they were coarse fustian pinked or cut into holes that the satin might appear through it

² Diodorus Siculus mentions some southern islands the inhabitants of which, having their tongues divided were capable of speaking two different languages at once and Babelais, in his account of the monster Hearsay (see Works Bohn s Edit v 2, p 45), observes, that his mouth was slit up to his ears and in it were seven tongues, each of them cleft into seven parts, and that he talked with all the seven at once, of different matters, and in divers languages

³ Demosthenes

⁴ William Lilly the famous astrologer of those times The House of Commons had so great a regard to his predictions, that the author of Met curius Pragmaticus (No 20) styles the members the sons of Erra Pater, an old astrologer, of whose predictions John Taylor, the water poet, makes mention

For he, by geometric scale
 Could take the size of pots of ale
 Resolve by sines and tangents straight,
 If bread or butter wanted weight ¹
 And wisely tell what hour o th day 125
 The clock does strike by Algebra
 Beside, he was a shrewd Philosopher,
 And had read ev ry text and gloss over
 Whate er the crabbed st author hath,²
 He understood b implicit faith 130
 Whatever Sceptic could inquire for
 For every WHY he had a WHEREFORE ³
 Knew more than forty of them do
 As far as words and terms could go
 All which he understood by rote 135
 And as occasion served would quote,
 No matter whether right or wrong
 They might be either said or sung
 His notions fitted things so well
 That which was which he could not tell, 140
 But oftentimes mistook the one
 For th other as great clerks have done
 He could reduce all things to acts
 And knew their natures by abstracts,⁴
 Where entity and quiddity 145
 The ghost of defunct bodies fly,⁵

¹ As a justice of the peace it was his duty to inspect weights and measures

"For well his Worship knows that ale house sins
 Maintain himself in gloves his wife in pins

A Satyr against Hypocrites p 3 4

² If any copy would warrant it I should read author saith *Nash*

³ That is he could answer one question by asking another or elude one difficulty by proposing another Ray gives the phrase as a proverb See Handbook of Proverbs p 142

⁴ A thing is in potentia, when it is possible but does not actually exist a thing is in act when it is not only possible but does exist A thing is said to be reduced from power into act when that which was only possible begins really to exist How far we can know the nature of things by abstracts has long been a dispute See Locke on the Understanding

⁵ A satire upon the abstract notions of the metaphysicians Butler humorously calls the metaphysical essences ghosts or shadows of real substances

Where Truth if person does appear,¹
 Like words congeal'd in northern air²
 He knew what's what, and that's as high
 As metaphysic wit can fly³ 100
 In school divinity as able
 As he that hight irrefragable
 A second Thomas, or at once
 To name them all another Duns⁴
 Profound in all the nominal 155
 And real ways beyond them all,
 And with as delicate a hand,
 Could twist as tough a rope of sand⁵
 And weave fine cobwebs fit for scull
 That's empty when the moon is full,⁶ 160
 Such as take lodgings in a head
 That's to be let unfurnished

¹ Some authors have represented truth as a real thing or person whereas it is nothing but a right method of putting man's notions or images of things into the same state and order that their originals hold in nature See Aristotle Met lib 2

² In Rabelais Pantagruel throws upon deck three or four handfuls of frozen words This notion is humorously elaborated in the Tatler p 254 and in Munchausen's Travels

³ The jest here is in giving a vulgar expression as the translation of the 'quid est quid' of our old logicians

⁴ These two lines were omitted after the second edition but restored in 1704 This whole passage is a smart satire upon the old School divines many of whom were honoured with some extravagant epithet and as well known by it as by their proper names thus *Alexander Hales* was called doctor irrefragable or invincible *Thomas Aquinas* the angelic doctor or eagle of divines *Duns Scotus* the great opponent of the doctrine of Aquinas acquired, by his logical acuteness the title of the subtle doctor This last was father of the Reals, and *William Ockham* of the Nominals See a full account of these Schoolmen in Tennemann's Manual (Bohn's edit p 243 et seq)

⁵ A proverbial saying applicable to those who lose their labour by busy-ing themselves in trifles or attempting things impossible The couplet stood thus in the first and all succeeding editions till 1704 —

For he a rope of sand could twist
 As tough as learned Sorbonist

The proverb is supposed to be derived from the story of the devil being balked of a soul for which he had contracted (under the guise of a doctor of the College of Sorbonne) by not being able to make a rope of sand

⁶ That is, subtle questions or foolish conceits, fit for the brain of a lunatic

He could raise scruples dark and nice
 And after solve em in a trice,
 As if Divinity had catch'd
 The itch on purpose to be scratch'd 165
 Or like a mountebank did wound
 And stab herself with doubts profound
 Only to show with how small pain
 The sores of Faith are cured again 170
 Altho' by woful proof we find
 They always leave a scar behind
 He knew the seat of Paradise
 Could tell in what degree it lies ¹
 And as he was disposed could prove it 175
 Below the moon or else above it
 What Adam dreamt of when his bride
 Came from her closet in his side
 Whether the devil tempted her
 By a High Dutch interpreter ² 180
 If either of them had a navel ³
 Who first made music malleable ⁴

¹ This is a banter upon the many learned and labourious treatises which have been published on the Site of Paradise some affirming it to be above the moon others above the air some that it is the whole world others only a part of the north some thinking that it was nowhere, whilst others supposed it to be God knows where in the West Indies Rudbeck ¹ Swede asserts that Sweden was the real Paradise The learned Bishop Huet gives a map of Paradise and says it is situated upon the canal formed by the Tigris and Euphrates near Aracca Mahomet assured his followers that Paradise was seated in heaven and that Adam was cast out from thence when he transgressed Humbolt (see Cosmos Bohn vol 1 p 364 5) brings up the real with telling us that every nation has a Paradise somewhere on the other side of the mountains

² Joh Goropius Becan maintained the Teutonic to be the first and most ancient language in the world and as used it to have been spoken in Paradise

³ Over one of the doors of the King's antechamber at St James's is a picture of Adam and Eve painted by Mabuse which formerly hung in the gallery at Whitehall thence called the Adam and Eve Gallery Evelyn in the preface to his Idea of the Perfection of Painting, mentions this picture and objects to the absurdity of representing Adam and Eve with navels See Sir Thomas Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting Browne, in his Vulgar Errors has a chapter expressly on this subject and is no doubt, what the poet is quizzing

⁴ This relates to the idea that music was first invented by Pythagoras on hearing the variations of sound produced by a blacksmith striking his anvil with a hammer—a story which has been frequently ridiculed

Whether the serpent, at the fall,
 Had cloven feet, or none at all ¹
 All this without a gloss, or comment, 185
 He could unmiddle in a moment,
 In proper terms such as men smatter,
 When they throw out and miss the matter
 For his Religion it was fit
 To match his learning and his wit 190
 Twas Presbyterian true blue,²
 For he was of that stubborn crew
 Of errant³ saints whom all men grant
 To be the true church militant ⁴
 Such as do build their faith upon 195
 The holy text of pike and gun,⁵
 Decide all controversy by
 Infallible artillery
 And prove their doctrine orthodox
 By apostolic blows and knocks, 200
 Call fire and sword and desolation,
 A godly thorough Reformation,
 Which always must be carried on,
 And still be doing, never done

¹ That cur e upon the serpent, "on thy belly shalt thou go, seeming to imply a deprivation of what he enjoyed before has been thought to imply that the serpent must previously have had feet Accordingly St Basil says, he went erect like a man and had the use of speech before the fall

² ' True blue which is found in the old proverb true blue will never stain is used here as an indication of stubborn adherence to party, right or wrong There is another reference to it in Part III, Canto II, line 870 *Blue* has immemorially been regarded as the emblematical colour of fidelity, and was the usual livery of servants

—came a velvet justice, with a long
 Great train of blue coats, twelve or fourteen strong

DONNE, *Sat I*

³ Literally, itinerant such as missionaries But the poet no doubt uses the word 'errant' with a double meaning, that is in the sense of knights 'errant as well as "errant knaves

⁴ The church on earth is called militant, as struggling with temptations, and subject to persecutions but the Presbyterians of those days were literally the church militant fighting with the establishment, and all that opposed them

⁵ Cornet Joyce, when he carried away the king from Holdenby, being desired by his Majesty to show his instructions drew up his troop in the inner court, and said, "These, sir, are my instructions

As if Religion were intended 205
 For nothing else but to be mended
 A sect whose chief devotion lies
 In odd perverse antipathies ¹
 In falling out with that or this
 And finding somewhat still amiss 210
 More peevish cross and splenetick
 Than dog distract or monkey sick
 That with more care keep holy day
 The wrong than others the right way ³
 Compound for sins they are inclined to 215
 By damning those they have no mind to
 Still so perverse and opposite
 As if they worshipp'd God for spite
 The self same thing they will abhor
 One way and long another for 220
 Free will they one way disavow
 Another nothing else allow ⁴
 All piety consists therein
 In them in other men all sin
 Rather than fail they will defy 225
 That which they love most tenderly ,

¹ The Presbyterians not only opposed some of the articles of belief held by others but also the pastimes and amusements of the people. Among other things they reckoned it sinful to eat plum porridge or minced pies at Christmas. The cavaliers observing the formal carriage of their adversaries, fell into the opposite extreme and ate and drank plentifully every day especially after the Restoration.

² Queen Elizabeth was often heard to say that she knew very well what would content the Catholics but could never learn what would content the Puritans.

³ In the year 1645 Christmas day was ordered to be observed as a *fast* and on the other hand Oliver when Protector was *feasted* by the lord mayor on Ash Wednesday. When James the First desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to feast the French ambassadors before their return to France the ministers proclaimed a fast to be kept the same day. The innovation is thus wittily satirized in a ballad of the time.

'Gone are the golden days of yore
 When Christmas was an high day
 Whose sports we now shall see no more,—
 'Tis turn'd into Good Friday

⁴ As maintaining absolute predestination and denying the liberty of man's will at the same time contending for absolute freedom in rites and ceremonies, and the discipline of the church.

Quarrel with minced pies and disparage
 Their best and dearest friend plum porridge,
 Fat pig and goose itself oppose
 And blaspheme custard through the nose 230
 Th apostles of this fierce religion
 Like Mahomet s, were ass and widgeon ¹
 To whom our knight by fast instinct
 Of wit and temper was so linkt,
 As if hypocrisy and nonsense 235
 Had got th advowson of his conscience ²
 Thus was he gifted and accouter d,
 We mean on th inside not the outward
 That next of all we shall discuss
 Then listen Sirs it followeth thus 240
 His tawny beard was th equal grace
 Both of his wisdom and his face,
 In cut and dye so like a tile ³
 A sudden view it would beguile
 The upper part thereof was whey 245
 The nether orange mixt with grey
 This hairy meteor did denounce
 The fall of sceptres and of crowns, ⁴
 With grisly type did represent
 Declining age of government 250

¹ The Ass is the milk white beast called Alborach which Mahomet tells us in the Koran the angel Gabriel brought to carry him to the presence of God Alborach refused to let him get up unless he would promise to procure him an entrance into paradise Widgeon means the pigeon, which Mahomet taught to eat out of his ear that it might be thought to be the means of divine communication Our poet calls it a widgeon for the sake of equivoque widgeon, in the figurative sense signifying a foolish silly fellow

² Dr Bruno Ryves in his *Mercurius Rusticus* gives a remarkable instance of a fanatical conscience, in a captain who was invited by a soldier to eat part of a goose with him, but refused because he said it was stolen but being to march away he who would eat no stolen goose, made no scruple to ride away upon a stolen mare

³ In the time of Charles I the beard was worn sharply peaked in a triangular form, like the old English tiles Some had pasteboard cases to put over their beards in the night, lest they should get rumpled during their sleep

⁴ As a comet is supposed to portend some public calamity, so this parliamentary beard threatened monarchy

And tell with hieroglyphic spade ¹
 Its own grave and the state s were made
 Like Samson s heart breakers it grew
 In time to make a nation rue ²
 Tho it contributed its own fall 255
 To wait upon the public downfall ³
 It was canonic ⁴ and did grow
 In holy orders by strict vow ⁵
 Of rule as sullen and severe
 As that of rigid Cordeliere ⁶ 260
 Twas bound to suffer persecution
 And martyrdom with resolution
 To oppose itself against the hate
 And vengeance of th incensed state
 In whose defiance it was worn 265
 Still ready to be pull d and torn
 With red hot irons to be tortured
 Reviled and spit upon and martyr d

¹ Alluding to the pictures of Time and Death

² Heart breakers were particular curls worn by the ladies and sometimes by men Samson s strength consisted in his hair when that was cut off he was taken prisoner when it grew again he was able to pull down the house and destroy his enemies

³ Many of the Presbyterians and Independents swore not to cut their beards till monarchy and episcopacy were ruined Such vows were common among the barbarous nations especially the Germans Civilis as we learn from Tacitus having destroyed the Roman legions cut hi hair which he had vowed to let grow from his first taking up arms And it became at length a national custom among some of the Germans never to trim their hair or their beards till they had killed an enemy

⁴ The later editions for *canonic* read *monastic*

⁵ The vow of not shaving the beard till some particular event happened was not uncommon in those times In a humorous poem falsely ascribed to Mr Butler entitled The Cobler and Vicar of Bray we read

This worthy knight was one that swore
 He would not cut his beard
 Till this ungodly nation was
 From kings and bishops clean d
 Which holy vow he firmly kept
 And most devoutly wore
 A grisly meteor on his face
 Till they were both no more

⁶ An order so called in France from the knotted cord which they wore about their middles In England they were named Grey Friars and were the strictest branch of the Franciscans

Maugre all which twas to stand fast
 As long as monarchy should last, 270
 But when the state should hap to reel,
 'Twas to submit to fatal steel,
 And fall, as it was consecrate
 A sacrifice to fall of state
 Whose thread of life the fatal sisters ¹ 275
 Did twist together with its whiskers
 And twine so close that Time should never,
 In life or death then fortunes sever
 But with his rusty sickle mow
 Both down together at a blow 280
 So learned Taliacotius from
 The brawny part of porter's bum,
 Cut supplemental noses, which
 Would last as long as parent breech ²
 But when the date of Nock was out, ³ 285
 Off dropt the sympathetic snout
 His back or rather burthen show'd
 As if it stoop'd with its own load
 For as Æneas bore his sire
 Upon his shoulders thro' the fire 290
 Our knight did bear no less a pack
 Of his own buttocks on his back
 Which now had almost got the upper
 Hand of his head for want of crupper
 To poise this equally he bore 295
 A paunch of the same bulk before
 Which still he had a special care
 To keep well cramm'd with thrifty fare,
 As white pot, ⁴ butter milk, and curds
 Such as a country house affords, 300

¹ Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos, the three destinies whom the ancient poets feigned to spin and determine how long the thread of life should last

² Taliacotius was professor of physic and surgery at Bologna, where he was born, 1553 His treatise in Latin, on the art of ingrafting noses, is well known See a very humorous account of him Tatler No 260

³ Nock is a British word signifying a slit or crack, and hence, figuratively, the fundament but the more usual term was *nock andro* Nock Nockys is used by Gawin Douglas in his version of the Æneid, for the bottom or extremity of anything

⁴ A Devonshire dish

With other victual which anon
 We further shall dilate upon
 When of his hose we come to treat
 The cupboard where he kept his meat
 His doublet was of sturdy buff 390
 And though not sword yet cudgel proof,
 Whereby twas fittest for his use
 Who feared no blows but such as bruise ¹
 His breeches were of rugged woollen
 And had been at the siege of Bullen 310
 To old King Harry so well known
 Some writers held they were his own ²
 Thro they were lined with many a piece
 Of ammunition bread and cheese
 And fat black puddings proper food 315
 For warriors that delight in blood
 For as we said he always chose
 To carry vittles in his hose,
 That often tempted rats and mice,
 The ammunition to surprise 320
 And when he put a hand but in
 The one or the other magazine,
 They stoutly in defence on't stood
 And from the wounded foe drew blood,
 And tall th' were storm'd and beaten out, 325
 Ne'er left the fortified redoubt
 And tho' knights errant as some think
 Of old did neither eat nor drink ³
 Because when thorough deserts vast
 And regions desolate they past 330
 Where belly timber above ground
 Or under was not to be found

¹ A man of nice honour suffers more from a kick or a slap in the face than from a wound Sir Walter Raleigh says to be stricken with a sword is like a man but to be stricken with a stick is like a slave

Henry VIII besieged Boulogne in person July 14 1544 He was very fat and consequently his breeches very large See the engravings published by the Society of Antiquaries

Though I think says Don Quixote that I have read as many his stories of chivalry in my time as any other man I never could find that knights errant ever eat unless it were by mere accident when they were invited to great feasts and royal banquets at other times, they indulged themselves with little other food besides their thoughts

Unless they grazed, there s not one word
 Of their provision on record
 Which made some confidently write, 335
 They had no stomachs but to fight
 'Tis false for Arthur wore in hall
 Round table like a farthingal¹
 On which with shirt pull'd out behind,
 And eke before his good knights dined 340
 Tho 'twas no table some suppose
 But a huge pair of round trunk hose
 In which he carried as much meat
 As he and all his knights could eat²
 When laying by their swords and truncheons, 345
 They took their breakfasts or their nuncheons³
 But let that pass at present, lest
 We should forget where we digrest,
 As learned authors use to whom
 We leave it, and to th purpose come 350
 His puissant sword unto his side,
 Near his undaunted heart, was tied
 With basket hilt that would hold broth,
 And serve for fight and dinner both
 In it he melted lead for bullets 355
 To shoot at fœes and sometimes pullets,
 To whom he bore so fell a grutch
 He ne'er gave quarter t any such
 The trenchant blade, Toledo trusty,⁴
 For want of fighting was grown rusty, 360

¹ The farthingale was a large hoop petticoat worn by the ladies King Arthur is said to have made choice of the round table that his knights might not quarrel about precedence

² True wit in Ben Jonson's Silent Woman says of Sir Amorous La Fool If he could but victual himself for half a year in his breeches, he is sufficiently armed to overrun a country Act 4, sc 5

³ A substitute for a regular meal equivalent to what is now called a luncheon Our ancestors in the 13th and 14th century had four meals a day—breakfast at 7 dinner at 10 supper at 4 and livery at 8 or 9 soon after which they went to bed The tradesmen and labouring people had only three meals a day,—breakfast at 8 dinner at 12 and supper at 6 They had no livery

⁴ Toledo, in Spain famous for the manufacture of swords the Toledo blades were generally broad to wear on horseback, and of great length, suitable to the old Spanish dress

And ate into itself for lack
 Of somebody to hew and hack
 The peaceful scabbard where it dwelt,
 The rancour of its edge had felt
 For of the lower end two handful 365
 It had devour'd twas so manful,
 And so much scorn'd to lurk in case,
 As if it durst not show its face
 In many desperate attempts
 Of warrants exigents contempts ¹ 370
 It had appear'd with courage bolder
 Than Serjeant Bum invading shoulder
 Oft had it ta'en possession
 And pris'ners too or made them run
 This sword a dagger had his page, 375
 That was but little for his age ³
 And therefore waited on him so
 As dwarfs upon knights errant do
 It was a serviceable dudgeon ⁴
 Either for fighting or for drudging ⁵ 380
 When it had stabb'd, or broke a head
 It would scrape trenchers, or chip bread,
 Toast cheese or bacon ⁶ though it were
 To bait a mouse trap twould not care
 'Twould make clean shoes and in the earth 385
 Set leeks and onions, and so forth
 It had been prentice to a brewer,
 Where this, and more it did endure
 But left the trade, as many more
 Have lately done on the same score ⁷ 390

¹ Exigent is a writ issued in order to bring a person to an outlawry, if he does not appear to answer the suit commenced against him

² Alluding to the method by which bum bailiffs, as they are called, arrest persons, by giving them a tap on the shoulder

³ Thus Homer accoutres Agamemnon with a dagger hanging near his sword which he used instead of a knife *Iliad* Lib. iii. 271

⁴ A dudgeon was a short sword, or dagger from the Teutonic *Degen*

⁵ That is for domestic uses or any drudgery such as follows in the next verses

⁶ Corporal Nym says in Shakspeare's *Henry V* 'I dare not fight but I will wink and hold out mine iron it is a simple one, but what though —it will toast cheese

⁷ A joke upon Oliver Cromwell, who was said to be the son of a brewer in Huntingdonshire It was frequently the subject of lampoons during his life

In th holsters, at his saddle bow,
 Two aged pistols he did stow,
 Among the surplus of such meat
 As in his hose he could not get
 These would inveigle rats with th scent, 390
 To forage when the cocks were bent,
 And sometimes catch em with a snap,
 As cleverly as th ablest trap
 They were upon hard duty still,
 And every night stood sentinel, 400
 To guard the magazine i th hose
 From two legg'd and from four legg'd foes
 Thus clad and fortified Sir Knight,
 From peaceful home set forth to fight
 But first with nimble active force, 405
 He got on th outside of his horse¹
 For having but one stirrup tied
 T his saddle, on the further side,
 It was so short h had much ado
 To reach it with his desp rate toe 410
 But after many strains and heaves,
 He got upon the saddle eaves,
 From whence he vaulted into th seat
 With so much vigour strength and heat,
 That he had almost tumbled over 415
 With his own weight but did recover,
 By laying hold on tail and mane,
 Which oft he used instead of rein
 But now we talk of mounting steed,
 Before we further do proceed, 420
 It doth behove us to say something
 Of that which bore our valiant bumkin

time Pride had been a brewer Hewson and Scott brewers clerks

¹ Nothing can be more completely droll, than this description of Hudibras mounting hi horse He had one stirrup tied on the off side very short the saddle very large the knight short fat and unwieldy, having his breeches and pockets stuffed with black puddings and other provision, over acting his effort to mount and nearly tumbling over on the opposite side his single spur we may suppose catching in some of his horse's furniture Cleveland identifies this picture in his lines — "like Sir Samuel Luke in a great saddle nothing to be seen but the giddy feather in his crown"

The beast was sturdy large and tall
 With mouth of meal and eyes of wall
 I would say eye for h had but one 400
 As most agree though some say none
 He was well stay d and in his gait,
 Preserv d a grave majestic state
 At spur or switch no more he skipt
 Or mended pace than Spaniard whipt ¹ 400
 And yet so fiery he would bound
 As if he grieved to touch the ground
 That Cæsar s horse who as fame goes
 Had corns upon his feet and toes ²
 Was not by half so tender hooft 400
 Nor tiød upon the ground so soft
 And as that beast would kneel and stoop
 Some write to take his rider up ³
 So Hudibras his tis well known
 Would often do to set him down 400
 We shall not need to say what lack
 Of leather was upon his back
 For that was hidden under pad
 And breech of Knight gill d full as bad
 His strutting ribs on both sides show d 445
 Like furrows he himself had plow d
 For underneath the skirt of pannel
 Twixt every two there was a channel
 His dragging tail hung in the dirt
 Which on his rider he would flirt 450
 Still as his tender side he prickt
 With arm d heel or with unarm d kickt
 For Hudibras wore but one spur,
 As wisely knowing could he stir

¹ This alludes to Sir Roger l Estrange s story of a Spaniard who was condemned to run the gauntlet and disdained to avoid any part of the punishment by mending his pace

² Suetonius relates, that the hoofs of Cæsar s horse were divided like human toes See also Montfaucon, *Antiquité expliquée*, vol ii p 58

³ Stirrups were not in use in the time of Cæsar Common persons who were active and hardy vaulted into their seats and persons of distinction had their horses taught to bend down towards the ground, or else they were assisted by their equerries

To active trot one side of s horse, 400
 The other would not hang an arse ¹
 A Squire he had whose name was Ralph,²
 That in th adventure went his half
 Though writers for more stately tone,
 Do call him Ralpho tis all one 460
 And when we can with metre safe
 We ll call him so if not plain Raph ³
 For rhyme the rudder is of verses
 With which like ships they steer their courses
 An equal stock of wit and valour 465
 He had lain in, by birth a tailor
 The mighty Tyrian queen that gain d,
 With subtle shreds a tract of land ⁴
 Did leave it with a castle fair
 To his great ancestor her heir 470
 From him descended cross legg d knights, ⁵
 Famed for their faith and warlike fights
 Against the bloody Cannibal ⁶
 Whom they destroy d both great and small

¹ This jest had previously appeared in an old book called *Gratiæ ludentes* or *Jests from the University* 1638 where it runs thus A scholar being jeered on the way for wearing but one spur said that if one side of his horse went on it was not likely the other would stay behind

² As the knight was of the Presbyterian party, so the squire was an Anabaptist or Independent This gives our author an opportunity of characterizing these several sects and of showing their joint concurrence against the king and church

³ Sir Roger L'Estrange supposes that the original of Ralph was one Isaac Robinson a butcher in Moorfields another authority thinks that the character was designed for Pemble a tailor one of the committee of sequestrators Grey supposes that the name of Ralph was taken from the grocer's apprentice in Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Knight of the Burning Pestle' Mr Pemberton who was a relation and godson of Mr Butler said that the squire was designed for Ralph Bedford, esquire, member of parliament for the town of Bedford

⁴ The allusion is to the well known story of Dido who purchased as much land as she could surround with an ox's hide She cut the hide into extremely narrow strips, and so obtained twenty two furlongs See Virg *Aeneid* lib 1 367

⁵ A double allusion Tailors sit at their work in this posture and Crusaders are represented on funeral monuments with their legs across

⁶ Tailors as well as Crusaders are famed for their faith though of different kinds The words bloody cannibal, are meant to be equally applicable to the Saracens and a louse

This sturdy Squire had as well 475
 As the bold Trojan knight seen hell¹
 Not with a counterfeited pass
 Of golden bough but true gold lace
 His knowledge was not far behind
 The knight s but of another kind 480
 And he another way came by t
 Some call it Gifts and some New Light
 A lib ral art that costs no pains
 Of study industry or brains
 His wits were sent him for a token² 485
 But in the carriage crack d and broken
 Like commendation nine pence crookt
 With—to and from my love—it lookt³
 He ne er consider d it as loth
 To look a gift horse in the mouth 490
 And very wisely would lay forth
 No more upon it than twas worth⁴
 But as he got it freely so
 He spent it frank and freely too
 For saints themselves will sometimes be 495
 Of gifts that cost them nothing free
 By means of this with hem and cough,
 Prolongers to enlighten d snuff⁵
 He could deep mysteries unriddle
 As easily as thread a needle 500

¹ In allusion to Æneas's descent into hell, and the tailor's receptacle for his filchings also called hell

² Var His wit was sent him

³ From this passage and the proverb "he has brought his nobl to ninepence" one would be led to conclude that coins were commonly struck of that value but only two instances of the kind are recorded by Mr Folkes both during the civil wars the one at Dublin and the other at Newark Long before this period however by royal proclamation of July 9 1551 the base testoons or shillings of Henry VIII and Edward VI were rated at ninepence and these were as abundant as sixpences or shillings until 1696 when all money not milled was called in Such pieces were often bent and given as love tokens, and were called ' To my love and from my love See Tatler No 240

⁴ When the barber came to shave Sir Thomas More, the morning of his execution the prisoner told him that there was a contest betwixt the King and him for his head and he would not willingly lay out more upon it than it was worth

⁵ *Enlighten d snuff*—This reading, which is confirmed by Butler's Ge *

For as of vagabonds we say,
 That they are ne er beside their way
 Whate er men speak by this new light,
 Still they are sure to be i th right 505
 'Tis a dark lantern of the spirit
 Which none see by but those that bear it
 A light that falls down from on high,¹
 For spiritual trades to cozen by
 An ignis fatuus that bewitches
 And leads men into pools and ditches ² 510
 To make them dip themselves and sound
 For Christendom in dirty pond
 To dive like wild fowl, for salvation,
 And fish to catch regeneration
 This light inspires and plays upon 515
 The nose of saint like bagpipe drone,
 And speaks through hollow empty soul,
 As through a trunk, or whisp ring hole
 Such language as no mortal ear
 But spiritual eaves droppers can hear 520
 So Phœbus or some friendly muse,
 Into small poets song infuse ³
 Which they at second hand rehearse
 Thro feed or bag pipe, verse for verse
 Thus Rulph became infallible, 525
 As three or four leggd oracle
 The ancient cup or modern chair ⁴
 Spoke truth point blank, though unaware

nune Remains, seems preferable to 'enlightened stuff, and is a good allusion. As a lamp just expiring with a faint light, for want of oil emits flashes at intervals so the *tailor's* shallow discourse, like the extempore preaching of his brethren was lengthened out with hems and coughs, w^h stops and pauses, for want of matter

¹ A burlesque parallel between traders in spiritual gifts and traders who show their goods to advantage by means of sky lights

² An allusion to the Anabaptists or Dippers. There were two sorts of Anabaptists one called the *Old Men* or *Aspersi* because they were only sprinkled the other called *New Men* or *Immersi* because they were overwhelmed in their rebaptization. See *Mercurius Rusticus* No 3

³ Poetry and Enthusiasm are closely allied a Poet is an Enthusiast in jest, an Enthusiast a Poet in earnest

⁴ Alluding to Joseph's divining cup Gen xlv 5 the Pope's infallible chair and the tripod, or three legged stool of the priestess of Apollo at

For mystic learning wondrous able
 In magic talisman and cabal ¹ 530
 Whose primitive tradition reaches
 As far as Adam's first green breeches ²
 Deep sighted in intelligences,
 Ideas atoms influences
 And much of terra incognita 535
 Th' intelligible world could say ³
 A deep occult philosopher
 As learn'd as the wild Irish are ⁴
 Or Sir Agrippa for profound
 And solid lying much renowned ⁵ 540

Delphi Four leggd oracle probably means telling fortunes from quadrupeds

¹ Tali man was a magical inscription or figure engraved or cast by the direction of astrologers under certain positions of the heavenly bodies and thought to have great efficacy as a preservative from diseases and all kinds of evil. Cabal or cabbala is a sort of divination by letters or number. It signifies likewise the secret or mysterious doctrines of any religion or sect. In the time of Charles II it obtained its present signification as being applied to the intriguing junto composed of Clifford Ashley Buckingham Aylington and Lauderdale, the first letters of whose names form the word.

² The author of the *Maga Adamica* endeavours to prove that the learning of the ancient Magi was derived from the knowledge which God communicated to Adam in paradise. The second line is a burlesque on the German translation of the Bible Genesis in which reads *breeches* instead of apions. In Mr Butler's character of an hermetic philosopher we read

he derives the pedigree of magic from Adam's first green breeches because fig leaves being the first covering that mankind wore, are the most ancient monuments of concealed mysteries.

³ Ideas according to my philosophy are not in the soul but in a superior intelligible nature wherein the soul only beholds and contemplates them. See Norris's Letter to Dodwell on the Immortality of the Soul p. 114. *Nash*. But it is more probable that Butler is alluding to Gabriel John's Theory of an Intelligible World publ. London 1700 a book which created much sensation at the time and is supposed to have furnished Swift with some of his material.

⁴ See the ancient and modern customs of the Irish in Camden's *Britannia* and Speed's *Pheatie of Great Britain*.

⁵ Agrippa was born at Cologne ann. 1486 and knighted for his military services under the Emperor Maximilian. When very young he published a book *De Occultâ Philosophiâ* which contains almost all the stories that ever roguery invented or credulity swallowed concerning the operations of magic. But in his riper years Agrippa was thoroughly ashamed of this book, and suppressed it in his collected works.

He Anthroposophus¹ and Floud,
 And Jacob Behmen understood,
 Knew many an amulet and charm
 That would do neither good nor harm,
 In Rosicrucian lore as learned² 540
 As he that *vere adeptus*³ earned
 He understood the speech of birds⁴
 As well as they themselves do words
 Could tell what subtlest parrots mean
 That speak and think contrary clean,⁵ 550
 What member tis of whom they talk,
 When they cry Rope—and Walk, Knave, walk⁶

¹ A nickname given to Dr Vaughan author of a discourse on the condition of man after death entitled *Anthroposophia theomagica*,—which according to Dean Swift is “a piece of the most unintelligible fustian that perhaps was ever published in any language Robert Floud (or *Fludd*) son of Sir Thomas Floud, Treasurer of War to Queen Elizabeth, was Doctor of Physic and devoted to occult philosophy He wrote an apology for the Rosicrucians also a system of physics called the Mosaic Philosophy and many other mystical works to the extent of 6 vols folio Jacob Behmen was an enthusiast of the same period and wrote unintelligibly in mystical terms Mr Law, who revived some of his notions calls him a Theosopher

² The Rosicrucians were a sect of hermetical philosopher They owed their origin to a German, named Christian Rosenkreuz but frequently went by other names such as the Illuminati the Immortales the Invisible Brothers Their learning had a great mixture of enthusiasm and as Lemery the famous chymist says ‘it was an art without an art, whose beginning was lying, whose middle was labour and whose end was beggary

³ The title assumed by alchemists, who pretended to have discovered the philosopher’s stone

⁴ Porphyry *De Abstinentia*, lib iii cap 3 contends that animals have a language, and that men may understand it and the author of the *Taigum* on Esther says that Solomon understood the speech of birds

⁵ In allusion, no doubt to the story of Henry the Eighth’s parrot which falling into the Thames, cried out, *A boat, twenty pounds for a boat* and was saved by a waterman who on restoring him to the king claimed the reward But on an appeal to the parrot he exclaimed *Give the knave a groat*

⁶ Alluding probably to Judge Tomlinson who in a ludicrous speech on swearing in the Sheriffs said You are the chief executioners of sentences upon malefactors Mr Sheriffs therefore I shall entreat a favour of you I have a kinsman a rope maker and as I know you will have many occasions during the year for his services, I commend him to you A satirical tract was published by Edw Gayton probably levelled at Colonel Hewson with this title ‘Walk, knaves, walk a discourse intended to have been spoken at court, &c

He d extract numbers out of matter ¹
 And keep them in a glass like water
 Of sov reign power to make men wise ² 500
 For dropt in blear thick sighted eyes
 They d make them see in darkest night
 Like owls tho purblind in the light
 By help of these as he profest
 He had first matter seen undrest 560
 He took her naked all alone
 Before one rag of foim was on ³
 The chaos too he had descry d
 And seen quite thro or else he lied
 Not that of pasteboard which men shew 560
 For groats at fair of Barthol mew ⁴
 But its great grandsire first o th name
 Whence that and Reformation came
 Both cousin germans and right able
 T inveigle and draw in the rabble 570
 But Reformation was some say
 O th younger house to puppet play ⁵
 He could foretell whats ever was
 By consequence to come to pass
 As death of great men alterations, 570
 Diseases, battles inundations
 All this without th eclipse of th sun

¹ Every absurd notion that could be picked up from the ancients was adopted by the wild enthusiasts of our author's days. Plato as Aristotle informs us *Metaph lib 1 c 6* conceived numbers to exist by themselves beside the sensibles like accidents without a substance. Pythagoras maintained that sensible things consisted of numbers. *Ib lib xi c 6*. And see Plato in his *Cratylus*.

² The Pythagorean philosophy held that there were certain mystical charms in certain numbers.

Plato held whatsoe'er encumbers

Or strengthens empire, comes from numbers. *Butler's MS*

³ Thus Cleveland page 110. The next ingredient of a diurnal is plots horrible plots which with wonderful sagacity it hunts dry foot while they are yet in their causes before *materia prima* can put on her smock.

⁴ The puppet shows, sometimes called Moralities or Mysteries exhibited Chaos the Creation, Flood Nativity and other subjects of sacred history on pasteboard scenery. These induced many to read the Old and New Testament and is therefore called the Elder Brother of the Reformation.

⁵ That is, the Sectaries in their pretence to inspiration, assumed to be passive instruments of the Holy Spirit, directed like puppets.

Or dreadful comet, he hath done
 By Inward Light a way as good,
 And easy to be understood 580
 But with more lucky hit than those
 That use to make the stars depose,
 Like knights o th post,¹ and falsely charge
 Upon themselves what others forge
 As if they were consenting to 585
 All mischief in the world men do
 Or, like the devil did tempt and sway em
 To rogueries and then betray em
 They ll search a planet s house to know
 Who broke and robb d a house below , 590
 Examine Venus and the Moon
 Who stole a thumble and a spoon ²
 And tho they nothing will confess,
 Yet by their very looks can guess,
 And tell what guilty aspect bodes 595
 Who stole and who received the goods
 They ll question Mars and by his look,
 Detect who twas that numm d a cloak ,
 Make Mercury confess and peach
 Those thieves which he himself did teach ³ 600
 They ll find i th physiognomies
 O th planets, all men s destinies
 Like him that took the doctor s bill,
 And swallow d it instead o th pill ⁴
 Cast the nativity o th question,⁵ 605
 And from positions to be guest on,

¹ Knights of the post were infamous persons, who attended the courts of justice to swear for hire anything that might be required, and even to confess themselves guilty of crimes upon sufficient remuneration they acquired the designation from their habit of loitering at the posts on which the sheriffs proclamations were affixed

² Alluding to the old notion that the moon was the repository of all things that were lost or stolen

³ Mercury is the god of thieves, and Mars of pirates

⁴ This alludes to a well known story told in Henry Stephens s apology for Herodotus A physician having prescribed for a countryman, gave him the paper desiring him to take it, which he did literally, wrapping it up like a bolus and was cured

⁵ In casting a nativity, astrologers considered it necessary to have the exact time of birth but in the absence of this, the position of the heavens at the minute the question was asked was taken as a substitute

As sure as if they knew the moment
 Of Native's birth tell what will come on t
 They'll feel the pulses of the stars
 To find out agues coughs catarrhs 610
 And tell what crisis does divine
 - The rot in sheep or mange in swine
 In men what gives or cures the itch,
 What made them cuckolds poor or rich
 What gains or loses hangs, or saves 615
 What makes men great what fools, or knaves
 But not what wise for only of those
 The stars they say cannot dispose¹
 No more than can the astrologians
 There they say right and like true Trojans 620
 Thus Ralpho knew and therefore took
 The other course of which we spoke²
 Thus was th' accomplish'd squire endued
 With gifts and knowledge per lous shrewd
 Never did trusty squire with knight, 625
 Or knight with squire jump more right
 Their arms and equipage did fit
 As well as virtues, parts, and wit
 Their valours too were of a rate
 And out they sallied at the gate 630
 Few miles on horseback had they jogged,
 But fortune unto them turn'd dogged,
 For they a sad adventure met
 Of which anon we mean to treat
 But ere we venture to unfold 635
 Achievements so resolved and bold
 We should as learned poets use
 Invoke th' assistance of some Muse,
 However critics count it sillier
 Than jugglers talking t' a familiar 640
 We think 'tis no great matter which
 They're all alike, yet we shall pitch

¹ *Sapiens dominabitur astris* (the wise man will govern the stars) was an old proverb among the astrologers. Bishop Warburton observes that the obscurity in these lines arises from the double sense of the word *dispose* when it relates to the stars, it signifies *influence* when it relates to astrologers, it signifies *deceive*.

² I.e. did not take to astrological but to religious imposture.

On one that fits our purpose most
 Whom therefore thus we do accost —
 Thou that with ale, or viler liquors 645
 Didst inspire Withers Pryn, and Vickers,¹
 And force them, though it were in spite
 Of Nature, and their stars, to write,
 Who as we find in sullen writs
 And cross grain'd works of modern wits 650
 With vanity, opinion want,
 The wonder of the ignorant,
 The praises of the author, penn'd
 By himself, or wit insuring friend,
 The itch of picture in the front, 655
 With bays, and wicked rhyme upon't,
 All that is left o' th' forked hill²
 To make men scribble without skill,
 Canst make a poet spite of fate,
 And teach all people to translate 660
 Though out of languages, in which
 They understand no part of speech,
 Assist me but this once, I m'plore,
 And I shall trouble thee no more
 In western clime there is a town³ 665
 To those that dwell therein well known,
 Therefore there needs no more be said here,
 We unto them refer our reader,
 For brevity is very good,
 When w' are, or are not understood⁴ 670
 To this town people did repair
 On days of market, or of fair,

¹ George Wither a violent party writer and author of many poetical pieces William Prynne, a voluminous writer and author of the *Hystro mastix*, for which he lost his ears John Vickers, a fierce parliamentary zealot A list of the works of these and other writers of the period will be found in *Lowndes, Bibl. Manual*

² That is Parnassus, supposed to be cleft on the summit

³ He probably means Brentford, about eight miles west of London See Part II. Cant. iii. ver. 996

⁴ 'If we are understood, more words are unnecessary if we are not likely to be understood, they are useless Charles II. answered the Earl of Manchester with the above couplet, only changing *very* for *ever*, when he was making a long speech in favour of the dissenters

And to crack d fiddle, and hoarse tabor,
 In merriment did diudge and labour
 But now a sport more formidable 67
 Had raked together village rabble
 'Twas an old way of recreating
 Which learned butchers call bear baiting
 A bold advent rous exercise
 With ancient heroes in high prize 680
 For authors do affirm it came
 From Isthmian or Nemean game ,
 Others derive it from the bear
 That s fix d in northern hemisphere
 And round about the pole does make 685
 A circle like a bear at stake
 That at the chain s end wheels about,
 And overturns the rabble rout
 For after solemn proclamation ¹
 In the bear s name as is the fashion, 690
 According to the law of arms
 To keep men from inglorious harms
 That none presume to come so near
 As forty feet of stake of bear ,
 If any yet be so fool hardy 695
 T expose themselves to vain jeopardy,
 If they come wounded off, and lame,
 No honour s got by such a maim
 Altho the bear gain much b'ing bound
 In honour to make good his ground, 700
 When he s engag d and take no notice
 If any press upon him, who tis
 But lets them know, at their own cost,
 That he intends to keep his post
 This to prevent, and other harms, 705
 Which always wait on feats of arms,
 For in the hurry of a fray
 'Tis hard to keep out of harm s way
 Thither the Knight his course did steer
 To keep the peace 'twixt dog and bear, 710

¹ The proclamation here mentioned was usually made at bear or bull
 baiting. The people were warned by the steward not to come within 40
 feet of the bull or bear, at their peril

As he believed h' was bound to do
 In conscience, and commission too,¹
 And therefore thus bespoke the Squire —
 We that are wisely mounted higher
 Than constables in curule wit 715
 When on tribunal bench we sit²
 Like speculators should foresee,
 From Pharos³ of authority,
 Portended mischiefs farther than
 Low proletarian tything men⁴ 720
 And therefore being inform d by bruit,
 That dog and bear are to dispute,
 For so of late men fighting name
 Because they often prove the same,
 For where the first does hap to be, 725
 The last does *coincidere*
Quantum in nobis have thought good
 To save th expense of Christian blood,
 And try if we by mediation
 Of treaty and accommodation, 730
 Can end the quarrel and compose
 The bloody duel without blows
 Are not our liberties our lives,
 The laws religion, and our wives,

¹ The Presbyterians and Independents were great enemies to those sports with which the country people amused themselves and which King James had most expressly encouraged and even countenanced on a Sunday as well by act of Parliament as by writing his 'Book of Sports' (published 1618) in their favour. Hume, anno 1660 say "All recreations were in a manner suspended by the rigid severity of the Presbyterians and Independents, even bear baiting was esteemed heathenish and unchristian the sport of it not the inhumanity gave offence. Colonel Hewson, in his pious zeal marched with his regiment into London and destroyed all the bears which were there kept for the diversion of the citizens. This adventure seems to have given birth to the fiction of Hudibras."

² Some of the chief magistrates in Rome were said to hold curule offices, from the chair of state or chariot they rode in called *sella curulis*.

³ Pharos, a celebrated light house of antiquity, 500 feet high whence the English word *Pharos* a watch tower.

⁴ *Proletarii* were the lowest class of people among the Romans by affixing this term to tythingmen, the knight implies the little estimation in which they were held.

Enough at once to lie at stake 735
 For Cov nant ¹ and the Cause s sake ? ²
 But in that quarrel dogs and bears
 As well as we must venture theirs ?
 This feud by Jesuits invented,
 By evil counsel is fomented 740
 There is a Machiavelian plot
 Tho ev ry nare olfact it not ³
 A deep design in t to divide
 The well affected that confide
 By setting brother against brother 745
 To claw and curry one another
 Have we not enemies *plus satis*
 That *cane et angue pejus* ⁴ hate us ?
 And shall we turn our fangs and claws
 Upon our own selves without cause ? 750
 That some occult design doth lie
 In bloody cynarctomachy ⁵
 Is plain enough to him that knows
 How saints lead brothers by the nose
 I wish myself a pseudo prophet 755
 But sure some mischief will come of it

¹ This was the Solemn League and Covenant, which was first framed and taken by the Scottish parliament and by them sent to the parliament of England in order to unite the two nations more closely in religion. It was received and taken by both houses and by the City of London and ordered to be read in all the churches throughout the kingdom and every person was bound to give his consent by holding up his hand at the reading of it. See a copy of it in Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion.

Sir William Dugdale informs us that Mr Bond, preaching at the Savoy told his auditors from the pulpit That they ought to contribute and pray and do all they were able to bring in their brethren of Scotland for settling of God's cause. I say quoth he this is God's cause and if our God hath any cause this is it and if this be not God's cause then God is no God for me but the devil is got up into heaven.

³ Meaning though every nose do not smell it Nare from *Nares* the Latin for nostrils.

⁴ A proverbial saying used by Horace expressive of bitter aversion. The punishment for parricide among the Romans was to be put into a sack with a snake a dog and an ape and thrown into the river.

⁵ A compound of three Greek words signifying a fight between dogs and bears. Colonel Cromwell, finding the people of Uppingham in Rutland shire, bear baiting on the Lord's day, caused the bears to be seized, tied to a tree, and shot.

Unless by providential wit
 Or force, we averruncate¹ it
 For what design, what interest,
 Can beast have to encounter beast² 780
 They fight for no espoused Cause,
 Frail privilege fundamental laws²
 Nor for a thorough Reformation
 Nor Covenant nor Protestation,³
 Nor liberty of consciences⁴ 785
 Nor lords and commons ordinances⁵
 Nor for the church nor for church lands,
 To get them in their own no hands,⁶
 Nor evil counsellors to bring
 To justice that seduce the king 770
 Nor for the worship of us men,
 Tho we have done as much for them
 Th Egyptians worshipp'd dogs⁷ and for
 Their faith made internecine war
 Others adored a rat⁸ and some 775
 For that church suffer'd martyrdom

¹ To eradicate or pluck up by the root

² The lines that follow recite the grounds on which the Parliament began the war against the king and justified their proceedings Butler calls the privileges of parliament frail because they were so very apt to complain of their being broken Whatever the king did or refused to do contrary to the sentiments they voted a breach of their privilege his dissenting to any of the bills they offered him was a breach of privilege his proclaiming them traitors who were in arms against him was a high breach of their privilege and the Commons at last voted it a breach of privilege for the House of Lords to refuse assent to anything that came from the lower house

³ The Protestation was a solemn vow entered into, and subscribed the first year of the long parliament

⁴ The early editions have it *Nor for free liberty of conscience* and this reading Bishop Warburton approves 'free liberty' being as he thinks a satirical periphrasis for licentiousness which is what the author here hints at

⁵ The king being driven from the Parliament no legal acts could be made An ordinance (says Cleveland, p 109) is a law still born dropt before quickened by the royal assent 'Tis one of the parliaments by blows Acts only being legitimate and hath no more sire than a Spanish gennet that is begotten by the wind

⁶ *No hands* here mean *paws*

⁷ Anubis one of their gods, was figured with a dog's face The Egyptians also worshipped cats see an instance in *Diodorus Siculus* of their putting a Roman noble to death for killing a cat although by mistake

The Ichneumon or water rat of the Nile, called also Pharaoh's rat, which destroys the eggs of the Crocodile

The Indians fought for the truth
 Of th elephant and monkey s tooth ¹
 And manv to defend that faith
 Fought it out *mordicus* to death ² 780
 But no beast ever was so slight ³
 For man as for his god to fight
 They have more wit alas! and know
 Themselves and us better than so
 But we who only do infuse 785
 The rage in them h! e *boute feus* ⁴
 Tis our example that instils
 In them th infection of our ills
 For, as some late philosophers
 Have well observed beasts that converse 790
 With man take after him as hogs
 Get pigs all the year and bitches dogs
 Just so by our example cattle
 Learn to give one another battle
 We read in Nero s time the Heathen 795
 When they destroy d the Christian brethren
 They sew d them in the skins of bears, ⁵
 And then set dogs about their ears
 From whence no doubt th invention came ⁶
 Of this lewd antichristian game 800
 To this quoth Ralpho Verily
 The point seems very plain to me
 It is an antichristian game
 Unlawful both in thing and name
 First for the name the word bear baiting 805
 Is carnal, and of man s creating ⁷

¹ The inhabitants of Ceylon and Siam worshipped the teeth of monkey and elephants The Portuguese out of zeal for the Christian religion destroyed these idols and the Siamese are said to have offered 700 000 ducats to redeem a monkey s tooth which they had long worshipped See Linschoten s Le Blanc s and Herbert s Travels

Valiantly tooth and nail ³ That is so silly ⁴ Incendiaries

⁵ See Tacitus Annals B xv c 44 (Bohn s transl. vol 1 p 423)

⁶ Alluding probably to Prynne s *Histro mastix* p 556 and 583 who has endeavoured to prove it such from the 61st canon of the sixth Council or Constantinople which he has thus translated Those ought also to be subject to six years excommunication who carry about bears or such like creatures for sport to the hurt of simple people

⁷ The Assembly of Divines in their Annotations on Genesis 1 1, assailed the King for creating honours

For certainly there s no such word
 In all the Scripture on record
 Therefore unlawful, and a sin,¹
 And so is, secondly, the thing 810
 A vile assembly tis, that can
 No more be proved by Scripture, than
 Provincial Classic National²
 Mere human creature cobwebs all
 Thirdly it is idolatrous, 815
 For when men run a whoring thus³
 With their inventions, whatsoever
 The thing be whether dog or bear,
 It is idolatrous and pagan,
 No less than worshipping of Dagon 820
 Quoth Hudibras, I smell a rat,
 Ralpho thou dost prevaricate
 For though the thesis which thou lay st
 Be true *ad amussim*⁴ as thou say st,
 For that bear baiting should appear, 825
Jure divino lawfuller
 Than synods are, thou dost deny
Totidem verbis so do I
 Yet there s a fallacy in this
 For if by sly *homœosis*⁵ 830
 Thou wouldst sophistically imply
 Both are unlawful I deny
 And I quoth Ralpho do not doubt
 But bear baiting may be made out,
 In gospel times as lawful as is 835
 Provincial, or parochial *Classis*,

¹ The disciplinarians held that the Scriptures were full and express on every subject and that everything was sinful which was not there directed—Some of the Huguenots refused to pay rent to their landlords unless they could produce a text of Scripture directing them to do so

² These words represent things of man's invention therefore carnal and unlawful The vile assembly means the bear baiting but alludes covertly to the Assembly of Divines

³ See Psalm cvi. 38

⁴ Exactly true and according to rule

⁵ The explanation of a thing by something resembling it Between this line and the next the following couplet is inserted in several editions —

Tussis pro crepitu an art
 Under a cough to slur a f—rt

And that both are so near of kin,
 And like in all as well as sin
 That put em in a bag and shake em
 Yourself o th sudden would mistake em 840
 And not know which is which unless
 You measure by their wickedness
 For tis not hard t imagine whether
 O th two is worst tho I name neither
 Quoth Hudibras Thou offer st much 845
 But art not able to keep touch
*Mira de lente*¹ as tis i th adage
Id est to make a leek a cabbage
 Thou canst at best but overstrain
 A paradox and th own hot brain 850
 For what can synods have at all
 With bear that s analogical ?
 Or what relation has debating
 Of church affairs with bear baiting ?
 A just comparison still is 855
 Of things *ejusdem generis*
 And then what *genus* rightly doth
 Include and comprehend them both ?²
 If animal, both of us may
 As justly pass for bears as they 860
 For we are animals no less
 Although of diff rent specieses⁴
 But Ralpho this is no fit place
 Nor time to argue out the case
 For now the field is not far off 865
 Where we must give the world a proof

¹ Great cry and little wool as they say when any one talks much, and proves nothing

² The following lines are substituted in some editions, for 849 and 850 —

Thou wilt at best but suck a bull
 Or shear swine all cry and no wool

Such a bull is explained by the proverb 'As wise as Waltham's Calf that ran nine miles to suck a bull' See Handbook of Proverbs, p 322

³ The first and second editions read

Compr hend them *inclusive* both

⁴ The additional syllable is humorous and no doubt intended

Of deeds, not words, and such as suit
 Another manner of dispute
 A controversy that affords
 Actions for arguments, not words 870
 Which we must manage at a rate
 Of prowess and conduct adequate
 To what our place and fame doth promise,
 And all the godly expect from us
 Nor shall they be deceived unless 875
 We are slurr'd and outed by success
 Success the mark no mortal wit
 Or surest hand can always hit
 For whatsoever we perpetrate
 We do but row w^e are steer'd by fate¹ 880
 Which in success oft disinherits
 For spurious causes noblest merits
 Great actions are not always true sons
 Of great and mighty resolutions
 Nor do the bold st attempts bring forth 885
 Events still equal to their worth
 But sometimes fail and in their stead
 Fortune and cowardice succeed
 Yet we have no great cause to doubt,
 Our actions still have borne us out, 890
 Which tho' they're known to be so ample,
 We need not copy from example
 We're not the only persons durst
 Attempt this province nor the first
 In northern clime a val'rous knight² 895
 Did whilom kill his bear in fight
 And wound a fiddler we have both
 Of these the objects of our wroth,
 And equal fame and glory from
 Th attempt or victory to come 900

¹ The Presbyterians were great fatalists, and set up the doctrine of predestination to meet all contingencies

² Hudibras encourages himself by two precedents first that of a gentle man who killed a bear and wounded a fiddler and secondly that of Sir Samuel Luke, who had often, as a magistrate, been engaged in similar adventures

This sung there is a valiant Mamaluke
 In foreign land yclep d ———¹
 To whom we have been oft compared
 For person parts address and beard
 Both equally reputed stout 905
 And in the same Cause both have fought
 He oft in such attempts as these
 Came off with glory and success
 Nor will we fail in th execution
 For want of equal resolution 910
 Honour is like a widow won
 With brisk attempt and putting on
 With ent ring manfully and urging
 Not slow approaches like a virgin²
 This said as erst the Phrygian knight³ 915
 So ours with rusty steel did smite
 His Trojan horse and just as much
 He mended pace upon the touch
 But from his empty stomach groan d
 Just as that hollow beast did sound 920
 And angry answer d from behind
 With brandish d tail and blast of wind
 So have I seen with armed heel,
 A wight bestride a Common weal⁴

¹ Sir Samuel Luke See the note at line 14 The Mamalukes were persons carried off in their childhood from various provinces of the Ottoman empire and sold in Constantinople and Grand Cairo They often rose first to be caches or lieutenants and then to be beys or petty tyrants In like manner in the English civil wars many rose from the lowest rank in life to considerable power

² These four lines are no doubt in allusion to a celebrated but somewhat indecent proverb first quoted in *Nath Smith's Quakers Spiritual Court* 1669 and adopted by Ray with an amusing apology See *Bohn's Handbook of Proverbs* page 43

³ Laocoon who at the siege of Troy suspecting treachery struck the wooden horse with his spear

⁴ Our poet might possibly have in mind a print engraved in Holland It represented a cow the emblem of the Common wealth with the King of Spain on her back kicking and spurring her the Queen of England before stopping and feeding her the Prince of Orange milking her and the Duke of Anjou behind pulling her back by the tail After the Spaniards in a war of forty years had spent an hundred millions of crowns and had lost four hundred thousand men they were forced to acknowledge the independence of the Dutch

While still the more he kick'd and spurr'd, 920
The less the sullen jade has stirr'd¹

¹ Mr Butler had been witness to the refractory humour of the nation not only under the weak government of Richard Cromwell, but in many instances under the resolute management of Oliver



PART II CANTO II



ARGUMENT

The catalogue and character
Of th enemy s best men of war ¹
Whom in a bold harangue the Knight^o
Defies and challenges to fight
H' encounters Talgol routs the Bear
And takes the Fiddler prisoner
Conveys him to enchanted castle
There shuts him fast in wooden Bastile

¹ Butler s description of the combatants resembles the list of warriors the *Iliad* and *Æneid*, and especially the laboured characters in the Theban war both in *Æschylus* and *Euripides*. See *Septem contra Thebas*, 383 *Supplæes* v 362 *Phœnis* v 1139

² In the first edition this and the next two lines stand thus
To whom the Knight does make a Speech,
And they defie him after which
He fights with Talgol routs the Bear,

PART I CANTO II



HERE was an ancient sage philosopher¹
 That had read Alexander Ross over²
 And swore the world as he could prove
 Was made of fighting, and of love
 Just so romances are, for what else 5
 Is in them all but love and battles?³
 O th first of these w have no great matter
 To treat of but a world o th latter
 In which to do the injured right,
 We mean in what concerns just fight 10
 Certes, our Authors are to blame
 For to make some well sounding name
 A pattern fit for modern knights
 To copy out in fravs and fights
 Like those that do a whole street raze, 15
 To build a palace in the place⁴
 They never care how many others
 They kill, without regard of mothers,

Empedocles a Pythagorean philosopher and poet held that concord and discord were the two principles (one formative the other destructive) which regulated the four elements that compose the universe The great anachronism in these two celebrated lines increases the humour Empedocles lived about 2100 years before Alexander Ross

² Alexander Ross was a very voluminous writer and chaplain to Charles the First He wrote a "View of all Religions" which had a large sale an answer to Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudoxia and Religio Medici*, Commentaries on Hobbes *Mystagogus Poeticus* or the Muses Interpreter and many other works Addison in the *Spectator* No 60, says, he has heard the e lines of Hudibras more frequently quoted than the finest pieces of wit in the whole poem, observing that the jungle of the double rhyme has something in it that tickles the ear

³ Mr Butler, in his MS Common Place book, says,

Love and fighting is the sum
 Of all romances from Tom Thumb
 To Arthur Gondibert and Hudibras

⁴ Alluding it is supposed to the Protector Somerset who, in the reign of Edward VI pulled down two churches part of St Paul's, and three bishops houses to build Somerset House in the Strand

Or wives, or children, so they can
 Make up some fierce dead doing man 20
 Composed of many ingredient valours,
 Just like the manhood of nine tailors
 So a wild Tartar when he spies
 A man that s handsome valiant, wise,
 If he can kill him thinks t inherit 25
 His wit his beauty and his spirit ¹
 As if just so much he enjoy d,
 As in another is destroy d
 For when a giant s slain in fight
 And mow d o erthwart or cleft downlight, 30
 It is a heavy case no doubt
 A man should have his brains beat out
 Because he s tall and has laige bones
 As men kill beavers for their stones ³
 But as for our part we shall tell 35
 The naked truth of what befell
 And as an equal friend to both
 The Knight and Bear but more to troth
 With neither faction shall take part
 But give to each his due desert 40
 And never coin a formal lie on t
 To make the Knight o ercome the giant
 This bing profest we ve hopes enough
 And now go on where we left off
 They rode but authors having not 45
 Determin d whether pace or trot
 That is to say whether tollutation ⁴
 As they do term t or succussation ⁵

¹ In Carazan a province of Tartary Dr Heylin says ' they have an use when any stranger comes into their houses of an handsome shape to kill him in the night that the soul of such a comely person might remain among them See also Spectator No 126

Alluding probably to the case of Lord Capel and other brave cavaliers, whom the Independents durst not let live

³ Their testes were supposed to furnish a medicinal drug of value See Juvenal, Sat xii l 34 Browne s Vulgar Errors III 4

⁴ Tollutation is pacing or ambling moving *per latera* as Sir Thomas Browne says that is lifting both legs of one side together

⁵ Succussation, or trotting, is lifting one foot before and the cross foot behind

We leave it, and go on as now
 Suppose they did, no matter how, 50
 Yet some from subtle hints have got
 Mysterious light it was a trot
 But let that pass, they now begun
 To spur their living engines on
 For as whipp'd tops and bandied balls, 55
 The learned hold aie animals,¹
 So horses they affirm to be
 Mere engines made by geometry
 And were invented first from engines
 As Indian Britons were from Penguins² 60
 So let them be, and as I was saying
 They their live engines plied³ not staying
 Until they reach'd the fatal champaign
 Which th' enemy did then encamp on
 The dre Pharsalian plain,⁴ where battle 65
 Was to be waged twixt puissant cattle,
 And fierce auxiliary men,
 That came to aid their brethren
 Who now began to take the field
 As knight from ridge of steed beheld 70

¹ Alluding to the atomic theory Democritus Epicurus &c, and some of the moderns likewise as Des Cartes Hobbes and others deny that there is a vital principle in animals, and maintain that life and sensation are generated from the contexture of atoms and are nothing but local motion and mechanism By which argument tops and balls in motion are presumed to be as much animated as dogs and horses

² This is meant to ridicule the opinion adopted by Selden that America had formerly been discovered by the Britons or Welsh inferred from the similarity of some words in the two languages especially Penguin the British name of a bird with a white head, which in America signifies a white rock Butler implies that it is just as likely horses were derived from engines, as that the Britons came from Penguins Mr Selden in his note on Dryden's Polyolbion says that Madoc brother to David ap Owen Prince of Wales made a sea voyage to Florida about the year 1170, and Humphry Llwyd, in his history of Wales reports, that one Madoc son of Owen Gwynedd Prince of Wales some hundred years before Columbus discovered the West Indies, sailed into those parts and planted a colony an idea which Southey has beautifully developed in his Madoc

³ That is, Hudibras and his Squire spurred their horses

⁴ Alluding to Pharsalia where Julius Cæsar gained his signal victory over Pompey the Great of which see *Lucan's Pharsalia*

For as our modern wits behold,
 Mounted a pick back on the old ¹
 Much further off much further he
 Rais'd on his aged beast could see
 Yet not sufficient to descry 75
 All postures of the enemy
 Wherefore he bids the squire ride further,
 To observe their numbers and their order,
 That when their motions he had known,
 He might know how to fit his own 80
 Meanwhile he stopp'd his willing steed,
 To fit himself for martial deed
 Both kinds of metal he prepared
 Either to give blows or to ward
 Courage and steel both of great force, 85
 Prepared for better or for worse ²
 His death charged pistols he did fit well
 Drawn out from life preserving vittle ³
 These being primed, with force he labour'd
 To free his blade from retentive scabbard 90
 And after many a painful pluck
 From rusty durance he bail'd tuck ⁴
 Then shook himself, to see that prowess
 In scabbard of his arms sat loose
 And raised upon his desperate foot 95
 On stirrup side he gazed about, ⁵
 Portending blood, like blazing star
 The beacon of approaching war ⁶

¹ Radiculing the disputes formerly subsisting between the advocates for ancient and modern learning Sir William Temple observes that as to knowledge the moderns must have more than the ancients because they have the advantage both of theirs and their own which is commonly illustrated by a dwarf standing upon a giant's shoulders and therefore seeing more and further than the giant

² These two lines 85 and 86 were in the later editions altered to—
 Courage within and steel without,
 To give and to receive a rout

³ The reader will remember how the holsters were furnished See note at p 19

⁴ Altered in later editions to—He cleared at length the rugged tuck

⁵ It will be seen at Canto i line 407, that he had but one stirrup

⁶ Comets and Meteors were held to be portentous See *Spenser on Prodiges*, 1658

The Squire advanced with greater speed
 Than could b' expected from his steed,¹ 100
 But far more in returning made
 For now the foe he had survey'd²
 Ranged as to him they did appear
 With van main battle wings and rear
 I th head of all this warlike rabble 105
 Crowdero march'd expect and able³
 Instead of trumpet and of drum
 That makes the warrior's stomach come,
 Whose noise whets valour sharp like beer
 By thunder turn'd to vinegar 110
 For if a trumpet sound or drum beat
 Who has not a month's mind⁴ to combat?⁵
 A squeaking engine he applied
 Unto his neck on north east side⁶
 Just where the hangman does dispose 115
 To special friends the fatal noose⁶
 For 'tis great grace when statesmen straight
 Despatch a friend let others wait
 His warped ear hung o'er the strings
 Which was but souse to chitterlings⁷ 120

¹ In the original edition, these two lines were —

Ralpho rode on with no less speed
 Than Hugo in the forest did

Hugo was scout master to Gondibert, and was sent in advance to reconnoitre

The first two editions read —

But with a great deal more return'd,
 For now the foe he had discern'd

³ A nick name taken from the instrument he used. Crowde a fiddle, from the Welsh *crwth*. The original of this character is supposed to be one Jackson a milliner, who lived in the New Exchange in the Strand. He had lost a leg in the service of the Roundheads and was reduced to the necessity of fiddling from one ale house to another for his bread.

⁴ Used ironically for no very strong desire. It has been ingeniously conjectured that the term 'a month's mind' is derived from a woman's longing in her first month of gestation.

⁵ It is difficult to say why Butler calls the left the north east side. Possibly it is a conceit suggested by the card of a mariner's compass: the north point with its Fleur de lis representing Crowdero's head and then the fiddle would be placed at the north east when played.

⁶ The noose is usually placed under the left ear.

⁷ Souse is the pig's ear, and chitterlings are the pig's guts: the former

For guts some write ere they are sodden,
 Are fit for music or for pudden
 From whence men borrow every kind
 Of minstrelsy, by string or wind ¹
 His grisly beard was long and thick 120
 With which he strung his fiddle stick
 For he to horse tail scorn'd to owe
 For what on his own chin did grow
 Chiron the four legg'd bard ² had both
 A beard and tail of his own growth, 130
 And yet by authors tis averr'd
 He made use only of his beard
 In Staffordshire where virtuous worth
 Does raise the minstrelsy not birth ³
 Where bulls do choose the boldest king ⁴ 135
 And ruler o'er the men of string
 As once in Persia tis said
 Kings were proclaim'd b a horse that neigh'd ⁵

alludes to Crowdero's ear which lay upon the fiddle the latter to the strings of the fiddle which are made of catgut

¹ This whimsical notion is borrowed from a chapter de peditu in the *Facetiae Facetarum* afterwards amplified in Dean Swift's *Benefit of F—g explained* where Dr Blow is quoted as asserting in his *Fundamentals of Music* that the first discovery of harmony was owing to persons of different sizes and sexes sounding different notes of music from their fundaments. An Essay equally whimsical on the origin of wind music will be found in the *Spectator* No 361. An anonymous Essay on this subject is attributed to the Hon C J Fox

² Chiron the Centaur who besides being the most famous physician of his time and teacher of Æsculapius was an expert musician and Apollo's governor. He now forms the Sagittarius of the Zodiac

³ The Minstrel's Charter and Ceremomes are given in *Plott's Staffordshire* p 436

⁴ This alludes to the custom of bull running in the manor of Tutbury in Staffordshire where was a charter granted by John of Gaunt and confirmed by Henry VI appointing a king of the minstrels who was to have a bull for his property, which should be turned out by the prior of Tutbury if his minstrels or any one of them could cut off a piece of his skin before he ran into Derbyshire but if the bull got into that county sound and unhurt, the prior was to have his bull again. This custom being productive of much mischief was at the request of the inhabitants and by order of the Duke of Devonshire lord of the manor discontinued about the year 1788

⁵ Darius elected King of Persia under the agreement of the seven princes, who met on horseback that the crown should devolve on him whose horse neighed first. By the ingenious device of his groom, the horse of Darius

He, bravely vent ring at a crown,
 By chance of war was beaten down, 140
 And wounded sore his leg, then broke,
 Had got a deputy of oak
 For when a shin in fight is cropt
 The knee with one of timber's propt,
 Esteem'd more honourable than the other 145
 And takes place tho' the younger brother¹
 Next march'd brave Orsin² famous for
 Wise conduct, and success in war
 A skilful leader stout severe,
 Now marshal to the champion bear 150
 With truncheon tipp'd with iron head,
 The warrior to the lists he led,
 With solemn march, and stately pace,
 But far more grave and solemn face,
 Grave as the Emperor of Pegu³ 155
 Or Spanish potentate, Don Diego⁴
 This leader was of knowledge great,
 Either for charge or for retreat
 Knew when to engage his bear pell mell,
 And when to bring him off as well⁵ 160
 So lawyers lest the bear defendant
 And plaintiff dog should make an end on't,
 Do stave and tail with writs of error,⁶
 Reverse of judgment, and demurrer,

was the first to neigh, which secured the throne for his master. See the story at length in Herodotus lib. iii. and in Brand's Popular Antiquities (Bohn's Edit., vol. iii. p. 124)

¹ A person with a wooden leg generally puts that leg first in walking.

² Orsin is only a name for a bearward. See Ben Jonson's Masque of Augurs. The person intended is Joshua Gosling, who kept bears at Paris Garden Southwark.

³ See Purchas's Pilgrims, V. b. 5. c. 4, or Mandelso and Olearius's Travels.

⁴ See Purchas's Pilgrims also Lady's Travels into Spain (by the Countess D'Aunou) 2 vols. 12mo. London 1722.

⁵ In the original edition these lines were—

He knew when to fall on pell mell,
 To fall back and retreat as well

⁶ The comparison of a lawyer with a bearward is here kept up. The one parts his clients and keeps them at bay by writ of error and demurrer as the latter does the dogs and the bear by interposing his staff or stave, and

To let them breathe awhile and then 160
 Cry whoop and set them on again
 As Romulus a wolf did rear
 So he was dry nursed by a bear ¹
 That fed him with the purchased prey
 Of many a fierce and bloody fray 170
 Bred up where discipline most rare is,
 In military garden Paris ²
 For soldiers heretofore did grow
 In gardens just as weeds do now,
 Until some splay foot politicians 175
 T Apollo offer d up petitions ³
 For licensing a new invention
 They d found out of an antique engine
 To root out all the weeds that grow
 In public gardens at a blow 180
 And leave th herbs standing Quoth Sir Sun ⁴
 My friends that is not to be done
 Not done ⁵ quoth Statesmen Yes an t please ye,
 When tis once known you ll say tis easy
 Why then let s know it quoth Apollo 185
 We ll beat a drum, and they ll all follow

holding the dogs by the tails The bitterne of the satire may be accounted for by the poet s having married a widow whom he thought possessed of a great fortune but being placed on bad security perhaps through the unskilfulness or roguery of a lawyer it was lost In his MS Common place Book he says the lawyer never end a suit but prunes it, that it may grow the faster and yield a greater increase of strife

¹ That is maintained by the profit derived by the exhibition of his bear It probably alludes also as Grey suggest to Orson (in the story of Valentine and Orson) who was suckled by a bear

At Paris Garden in Southwark near the river side there was a circus long noted for the entertainment of bear baiting which was forbidden in the time of the civil wars The military garden refers to a society instituted by James I, for training soldiers who used to practise at Paris Garden

² The whole passage here a little invented by the satirist s humour, is taken from Boccaccio s Advertisement from Parnassus where the gardeners entreat Apollo who had invented drums and trumpets by which princes could destroy their wild and rebellious subject to teach them some such easy method of destroying weeds

⁴ Apollo after the fashion of chivalry is here designated "Sir Sun The expression is used by Sir Philip Sydney in Pembroke s Arcadia

A drum¹ quoth Phœbus, Troth, that s true,
 A pretty invention, quaint and new
 But tho' of voice and instrument
 We are th' undoubted president 190
 We such loud music do not profess,
 The devil s master of that office
 Where it must pass if t be a drum,
 He ll sign it with *Cler Parl Dom Com*¹
 To him apply yourselves and he 190
 Will soon despatch you for his fee
 They did so but it proved so ill,
 They ad better let em grow there still²
 But to resume what we discoursing
 Were on before, that is stout Orsin, 200
 That which so oft by sundry writers
 Has been applied t almost all fighters,
 More justly may b ascribed to this
 Than any other warrior *viz*
 None ever acted both parts bolder, 200
 Both of a chieftain and a soldier
 He was of great descent and high
 For splendour and antiquity
 And from celestial origine,
 Derived himself in a right line 210
 Not as the ancient heroes did
 Who that their base births might be hid,³
 Knowing they were of doubtful gender,
 And that they came in at a windore,⁴
 Made Jupiter himself and others 210
 O' th gods, gallants to their own mothers,

¹ During the civil wars the Rump parliament granted patents for new inventions these and all other orders and ordinances were signed by their clerk with this addition to his name—Clerk of the Parhament House of Commons Apollo sends the petitioners to that assembly, which he tells them is directed and governed by the devil, who will sanction the grant with the usual signature

² The expedient of arming the discontented and unprincipled multitude is adventurous and often proves fatal to the state

³ See Ion s address to his mother Creusa when she had told him that he was son of Apollo Euripides (Bohn s Transl vol ii p 121) also Spec tator p 630

⁴ Wind door is still the provincial term for "window"

To get on them a race of champions
 Of which old Homer first made lampoons
 Arctophylax in northern sphere ¹
 Was his undoubted ancestor 20
 From whom his great forefathers came
 And in all ages bore his name
 Learned he was in medical lore
 For by his side a pouch he wore
 Replete with strange hermetic powder ² 220
 That wounds nine miles point blank would solder ³
 By skilful chymist with great cost
 Extracted from a rotten post ⁴
 But of a heavenly influence
 Than that which mountebanks dispense 230
 Tho' by Promethean fire made ⁵
 As they do quack that drive that trade
 For as when slovens do amiss
 At others' doors by stool or piss
 The learned write a red hot spit 30
 Being prudently applied to it
 Will convey mischief from the dung ⁶
 Unto the breech ⁷ that did the wrong
 So this did healing and as sure
 As that did mischief this would cure 240
 Thus virtuous Orsin was endued
 With learning conduct fortitude
 Incomparable and as the prince
 Of poets Homer sung long since

¹ Butler makes the constellation Bootes—which lies in the rear of Ursa Major—the mythological ancestor of the bearward Orin

² Hermetic i. e. chemical The Hermetical philosopher was so called from Hermes Trismegistus

³ A banter on the famous sympathetic powder which was to effect the cure of wounds at a distance and was much in vogue in the reign of James the First See Sir Kenelm Digby's "Discourse of the cure of wounds by the powder of sympathy" London 1644

⁴ Useless powders in medicine are called powders of post

⁵ That is heat of the sun The story of Prometheus is very amusingly told by Dean Swift in No. 14 of his "Intelligencer"

⁶ Still ridiculing the sympathetic powder See Sir K. Digby's treatise, where the poet's story of the spit is seriously told

⁷ Thus in the first edition altered in the later ones to 'part

A skilful leech is better far, 245
 Than half a hundred men of war,¹
 So he appear d and by his skill,
 No less than dint of sword could kill
 The gallant Bruin march d next him,
 With visage formidably grim, 250
 And rugged as a Saracen
 Or Turk of Mahomet's own kin,²
 Clad in a mantle *de la guerre*
 Of rough impenetrable fur 255
 And in his nose like Indian king
 He wore for ornament a ring
 About his neck a threefold gorget
 As rough as trebled leathern target
 Armed as heralds cant and langued,
 Or as the vulgar say sharp fanged 260
 For as the teeth in beasts of prey
 Are swords with which they fight in fray,
 So swords in men of war, are teeth
 Which they do eat their victual with
 He was by birth some authors write, 265
 A Russian some a Muscovite
 And mong the Cossacks³ had been bred,
 Of whom we in diurnals read
 That serve to fill up pages here,
 As with their bodies ditches there⁴ 270
 Scrimansky was his cousin german⁵
 With whom he served, and fed on vermin,

¹ See Homer's *Iliad* b xi line 514 Leech is the old Saxon term for physician

² Sandys in his *Travels*, observes that the Turks are generally well complexioned of good stature except Mahomet's kindred who are the most ill favoured people upon earth, branded, perhaps, by God for the sin of their seducing ancestor

³ The Cossacks are a people living near Poland on the borders of the Don whence the term Don Cossack Grey derives that name from Cosa the Polish for a goat to which they are compared for their extraordinary nimbleness and wandering habits

⁴ The story of the Russian soldiers marching into the ditch at the siege of Schweidnitz is well known The Cossacks had, in Butler's time, recently put themselves under the protection of Russia

⁵ Some favourite bear perhaps, or a caricatured Russian name

And when these fail d he d suck his claws,
 And quarter himself upon his paws
 And tho his countrymen the Huns 275
 Did stew their meat between their bums
 And th horses backs o er which they straddle,¹
 And every man ate up his saddle
 He was not half so nice as they
 But ate it raw when t came in s way 280
 He had traced countries far and near
 More than Le Blanc the traveller
 Who writes he spoused in India ²
 Of noble house a lady gay
 And got on her a race of worthies 285
 As stout as any upon earth is
 Full many a fight for him between
 Talgol and Orsin oft had been
 Each striving to deserve the crown
 Of a sared citizen ³ the one 290
 To guard his bear the other fought
 To aid his dog both made more stout
 By sev ral spurs of neighbourhood
 Church fellow membership, and blood,
 But Talgol mortal foe to cows 295
 Never got ought of him but blows
 Blows hard and heavy such as he
 Had lent repaid with usury
 Yet Talgol⁴ was of courage stout
 And vanquish d oft ner than he fought, 300
 Inured to labour sweat and toil
 And like a champion shone with oil ⁵

¹ This fact is related by Ammianus Marcellinus With such fare did Azim Khān entertain Jenkinson and other Englishmen in their Travels to the Caspian Sea from the river Volga See Busbequius Letter Ep iv

Le Blanc tells the story of Aganda a king's daughter who married a bear

³ He who saved the life of a Roman citizen was entitled to a civic crown and so says our author were Talgol and Orsin, who fought hard to save the lives of their dogs and bears

⁴ Talgol was, we are told by Sir Roger L Estrange a butcher in New gate Market who afterwards obtained a captain's commission for his *re bellious* bravery at Naseby

⁵ The greasiness of a butcher compared with that of the Greek and Roman wrestlers who anointed themselves with oil to make their joints supple

Right many a widow his keen blade,
 And many fatherless, had made
 He many a boar and huge dun cow 300
 Did, like another Guy o erthrow ¹
 But Guy with him in fight compared
 Had like the boar or dun cow fared
 With greater troops of sheep h had fought 310
 Than Ajax, or bold Don Quixote ²
 And many a serpent of fell kind
 With wings before and stings behind ³
 Subdued as poets say, long ago
 Bold Sir George St George did the dragon ⁴
 Nor engine nor device polemic 315
 Disease nor doctor epidemic ⁵
 Tho' stored with deletery med cines
 Which whosoever took is dead since,
 E'er sent so vast a colony
 To both the under worlds as he ⁶ 320

¹ Guy Earl of Warwick one of whose valiant exploits was overcoming the dun cow at Dunsmore heath in Warwickshire

² Ajax, when mad with rage for having failed to obtain the armour of Achilles attacked and slew a flock of sheep mistaking them for the Grecian princes who had decided against him In like manner Don Quixote encountered a flock of sheep and imagined they were the giant Alifanfaron of Taprobana

³ Meaning the flies wasps and hornets, which prey upon the butchers meat and were killed by the valiant Talgol

⁴ Sir George because tradition makes him a soldier as well as a saint All heroes in romance have the appellation of Sir as Sir Belianis of Greece, Sir Palmerin, &c But there was a real Sir George St George who in February 1643 was made commissioner for the government of Connaught and it is not improbable that this coincidence of names might strike the playful imagination of Mr Butler It is whimsical too that General George Monk (afterwards Sir George) in a collection of loyal songs, is said to have slain a most cruel dragon meaning the Rump parliament Or perhaps the poet might mean to ridicule the presbyterians who refused even to call the apostles Peter and Paul saints but in mockery called them Sir Peter Sir Paul &c

⁵ There is humour in joining the epithet *epidemic* to the doctor as well as the disease intimating that there is no condition of the air more dangerous than the vicinity of a quack

⁶ Virgil in his sixth Æneid describes both the Elysian Fields and Tartarus as below, and not far asunder

For he was of that noble trade
 That demi gods and heroes made ¹
 Slaughter and knocking on the head
 The trade to which they all were bred
 And is like others glorious when 30
 Tis great and large but base if mean ²
 The former rides in triumph for it
 The latter in a two wheel d chariot,
 For daring to profane a thing
 So sacred with vile bungling ³ 330
 Next these the brave Magnano came
 Magnano great in martial fame,
 Yet when with Oisín he waged fight
 Tis sung he got but little by t
 Yet he was fierce as forest boar 33
 Whose spoils upon his back he wore ⁴
 As thick as Ajax seven fold shield
 Which o'er his brazen arms he held
 But brass was feeble to resist
 The fury of his armed fist 340
 Nor could the hardest iron hold out
 Against his blows but they would through t
 In magic he was deeply read
 As he that made the brazen head ⁵

¹ Satirizing those that pride themselves on their military achievements
 The general who massacres thousands is called great and glorious the assassin who kills a single man is hanged at Tyburn

² Julius Cæsar is said to have fought fifty battles and to have killed of the Gauls alone eleven hundred ninety two thousand men and as many more in his civil wars In the inscription which Pompey placed in the temple of Minerva, he professed that he had slain or vanquished and taken, two millions one hundred and eighty three thousand men

³ Simon Wait a tinker as famous an Independent preacher as Burroughs who with equal blasphemy would style Oliver Cromwell the archangel giving battle to the devil

⁴ Meaning his budget made of pig's skin

⁵ The device of the brazen head which was to speak a prophecy at a certain time had by some been imputed to Grosse tête Bishop of Lincoln as appears from the poet Gower by others to Albertus Magnus But the generality of writers and our poet among the rest, have ascribed it to Roger Bacon whose great knowledge caused him to be reputed a magician Some however believe the story of the head to be nothing more than a moral fable

Profoundly skill'd in the black art, 345
 As English Merlin for his heart,¹
 But far more skilful in the spheres,
 Than he was at the sieve and shears²
 He could transform himself to colour,
 As like the devil as a collier³ 350
 As like as hypocrites in show
 Are to true saints or crow to crow
 Of warlike engines he was author,
 Devis'd for quick despatch of slaughter
 The cannon blunderbuss and saker 355
 He was the inventor of and maker
 The trumpet and the kettle drum
 Did both from his invention come
 He was the first that e'er did teach
 To make and how to stop, a breach 360
 A lance he bore with iron pike,
 The one half would thrust the other strike,
 And when their forces he had join'd
 He scorn'd to turn his pails behind
 He Trulla loved⁴ Trulla more bright 365
 Than burnish'd armour of her knight,
 A bold virago stout and tall
 As Joan of France, or English Moll⁶

¹ William Lilly the astrologer who adopted the title of *Merlinus Anglicus* in some of his publication

² The literal sense would be that he was skilful in the heavenly spheres that is astrology but a sphere is anything round and the tinker's skill lay in mending pots and kettles which are commonly of that shape There was a kind of divination practised by means of a sieve, which was put upon the point of a pair of shears and expected to turn round when the person or thing inquired after was named This silly method of applying for information is mentioned by Theocritus, as Coscinomaney (See Bohn's Transl. p. 19)

³ Alluding to a common proverb "Like will to like, as the devil said to the collier" Handbook of Proverbs p. 111

⁴ Tinkers are said to mend one hole, and make two

⁵ Trull is a low profligate woman that follows the camp or takes up with a strolling tinker Trulla signifies the same in Italian The person here alluded to was a daughter of James Spencer debauched by Magnano the tinker

⁶ Joan of Arc celebrated as the Maid of Orleans English Moll was famous about the year 1670 Her real name was Mary Carlton but she was more commonly known as Kentish Moll or the German princess

Through perils both of wind and lmb,
 Through thick and thin she follow d him 370
 In every adventure h undertook
 And never him, or it forsook
 At breach of wall or hedge surprise
 She shared 1 th hazard and the prize
 At beating quarters up or forage 375
 Behaved herself with matchless courage,
 And laid about in fight more busily
 Than th Amazonian Dame Penthesile¹
 And tho some critics here cry Shame,
 And say our authors are to blame 380
 That spite of all philosophers
 Who hold no females stout but bears
 And heretofore did so abhor
 That women should pretend to war
 They would not suffer the stout st dame 385
 To swear by Hercules his name²
 Make feeble ladies in their works
 To fight like termagants and Turks,³

She was transported to Jamaica in 1671 and being soon after discovered at large was hanged at Tyburn January 22 1672 3 So far Dr Grey Bp Percy thinks it more probable that Butler alluded to the valorous Mary Ambree celebrated in a ballad, contained in his *Reliques* 2nd ser book 11 But it is more likely than either that he meant Moll Cutpurse (Mary Frith) to whom Shakspeare Twelfth Night Act 11 s 3 alludes See a long note on the subject in Johnson and Steevens Shakspeare edited by Isaac Reed, 1803 vol v pages 254—56, where Dr Grey's notion is expressly corrected The life of Moll Cutpurse was printed in 1662 with a portrait of her copied in Caulfield's Remarkable Persons

¹ Queen of the Amazons killed by Achilles In the first editions it is printed Pen thesile See her story in any *Classical Dictionary*

Men and women among the Romans did not use the same oath or swear by the same deity According to Macrobius the men did not swear by Castor nor the women by Hercules but *Edepol* or swearing by Pollux, was common to both

² The word termagant now signifies a noisy and troublesome female In Chaucer's rhyme of Sire Thopas it appears to be the name of a deity And Hamlet says (Act 11 sc 2) 'I would have such a fellow whipp'd for o erdoing Termagant it out herods Herod Mr Tyrwhitt states that this Saracen deity is called Tervagan in an old MS romance in the Bodleian Library Bishop Warburton observes that this passage is a fine satire on the Italian epic poets Ariosto Tasso and others who have introduced their female warriors, and are followed in this absurdity by Spenser and Davenant

To lay their native arms aside,
 Their modesty, and ride astride,¹ 390
 To run a tilt at men and wield
 Their naked tools in open field,
 As stout Armida, bold Thalestris²
 And she that would have been the mistress
 Of Gondibert, but he had grace, 395
 And rather took a country lass³
 They say tis false without all sense
 But of pernicious consequence
 To government which they suppose
 Can never be upheld in prose,⁴ 400
 Strip nature naked to the skin
 You'll find about her no such thing
 It may be so yet what we tell
 Of Trulla that's improbable,
 Shall be deposed by those have seen't, 405
 Or, what's as good, produced in print⁵
 And if they will not take our word,
 We'll prove it true upon record
 The upright Cerdon next advanc't,⁶
 Of all his race the valiant st 410
 Cerdon the Great renown'd in song,
 Like Hercules for repair of wrong
 He raised the low and fortified
 The weak against the strongest side⁷

¹ Camden says that Anne wife of Richard II, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV taught the English women the present mode of riding about the year 1388 before which time they rode astride And Gower in a poem dated 1394 describing a company of ladies on horseback, says, "ever ich one ride on side"

² Two formidable women at arms, in romances, that were cudgelled into love by their gallants See *Classical Dictionary*

³ It was the humble Burtha, daughter of the sage Astragon who supplanted the princess Rhodand in the affections of Gondibert

⁴ Butler loses no opportunity of rallying Sir William Davenant who, in his preface to Gondibert endeavours to show that government could not be upheld either by statesmen, divines, lawyers or soldiers, without the aid of poetry

⁵ The vulgar imagine that everything which they see in print must be true

⁶ A one eyed cobbler and great reformer there is an equivocate upon the word upright

⁷ Meaning that he supplied and pieced the heels, and strengthened a weak sole

Ill has he read, that never hit 415
 On him in muses deathless writ
 He had a weapon keen and fierce ¹
 That thro a bull hide shield would pierce,
 And cut it in a thousand pieces,
 Tho tougher than the Knight of Greece his ² 420
 With whom his black thumb'd ancestor ³
 Was comrade in the ten years war
 For when the restless Greeks sat down
 So many years before Troy town
 And were renown'd as Homer writes 42
 For well soled boots no less than fights, ⁴
 They owed that glory only to
 His ancestor that made them so
 Fast friend he was to Reformation
 Until twas worn quite out of fashion 430
 Next rectifier of wry law,
 And would make three to cure one flaw
 Learned he was and could take note
 Transcribe collect translate and quote
 But preaching was his chiefest talent ⁵ 435
 Or argument in which being valiant,
 He used to lay about and stickle
 Like ram or bull at conventicle
 For disputants like rams and bulls
 Do fight with arms that spring from skulls 440

¹ That is a sharp knife with which he cut leather

² The shield of Ajax See Description of it in *Iliad* v 423 (Pope)

³ According to the old distich

The higher the plum tree the ripen the plum
 The richer the cobbler the blacker his thumb

⁴ 'Well greaved Achæans the greave (κνημῆς) was armour for the legs which Butler ludicrously calls boots In allusion no doubt to a curious 'Dissertation upon Boots' (in the *Phoenix Britannicus* p 268) written in express ridicule of Col Hewson and perhaps having in mind Alexander Ross, who says that Achilles was a shoemaker's boy in Greece and had he not pawned his boots to Ulysses would not have been pierced in the heel by Paris In further illustration the Shakspearian reader will remember Hotspur's punning reply to Owen Glendower's brag I sent thee bootless home Henry IV p 1 Act iii sc 1

⁵ The encouragement of preaching by persons of every degree amongst the laity was one of the principal charges brought against the dominant party under the Commonwealth, by their opponents

Last Colon came, bold man of war,¹
 Destined to blows by fatal star,
 Right expert in command of horse,
 But cruel, and without remorse
 That which of Centaur long ago 445
 Was said, and has been wrested to
 Some other knights was true of this
 He and his horse were of a piece
 One spirit did inform them both
 The self same vigour, fury, wrath, 450
 Yet he was much the rougher part,
 And always had the harder heart
 Altho his horse had been of those
 That fed on man's flesh as fame goes²
 Strange food for horse¹ and vet, alas¹ 455
 It may be true, for flesh is grass³
 Sturdy he was and no less able
 Than Hercules to cleanse a stable,⁴
 As great a drover and as great
 A critic too in hog or neat 460
 He ripped the womb up of his mother
 Dame Tellus⁵ cause he wanted fother,
 And provender wherewith to feed
 Himself and his less cruel steed
 It was a question whether he, 465
 Or's horse were of a family
 More worshipful, till antiquaries
 After they'd almost pored out their eyes,

¹ Ned Perry an ostler

² The horses of Diomedes king of Thrace were said to have been fed with human flesh, and that he himself was ultimately eaten by them, his dead body having been thrown to them by Hercules. The moral, perhaps may be that Diomedes was ruined by keeping his horses, as Actæon was said to be devoured by his dogs because he was ruined by keeping them.

³ A banter on the following passage in Sir Thomas Browne's Religio Medici. All flesh is grass not only metaphorically but literally for all those creatures we behold are but the herbs of the field digested into flesh in them, or more remotely carnified in ourselves, &c. See Works (Bohn's Edit vol II p 317)

⁴ Alluding to the fabulous story of Hercules who cleansed the stables of Augeas king of Elis by turning the river Alpheus through them.

⁵ This means no more than his ploughing the ground. A happy example of the magniloquence which belongs to mock epics.

Did very learnedly decide
 The business on the horse s side 470
 And proved not only horse but cows,
 Nay pigs were of the elder house
 For beasts when man was but a piece
 Of earth himself did th earth possess
 These worthies were the chief that led 475
 The combatants each in the head
 Of his command with arms and rage
 Ready and longing to engage
 The numerous rabble was drawn out
 Of several countries round about 480
 From villages remote and shires,
 Of east and western hemispheres
 From foreign parishes and regions
 Of different manners speech religions ¹
 Came men and mastiffs some to fight 485
 For fame and honour some for sight
 And now the field of death the lists
 Were enter d by antagonists
 And blood was ready to be broach d
 When Hudibras in haste approach d 490
 With Squire and weapons to attack em
 But first thus from his horse bespoke em
 What rage O Citizens! ² what fury
 Doth you to these dire actions hurry?

¹ In a thanksgiving sermon preached before Parliament on the taking of Chester Mr Case said that there were no less than 180 new sects then in London who propagated the damnable doctrines of devils And Mr Ford in an assize sermon stated that in the little town of Reading he was verily persuaded if St Augustin s and Epiphanius s Catalogues of Heresies were lost and all other modern and ancient records of the kind yet it would be no hard matter to re tore them with considerable enlargements from that place that they have Anabaptism Familism Socinianism Pelagianism Ranting and what not² and that the devil was served in heterodox assemblies as frequently as God in theirs And that one of the most eminent church livings in that country was possessed by a blasphemous in whose house he believed some of them could testify that the devil was as visibly familiar as any one of the family

² Butler certainly had the following lines of Lucan in view (Phars 1—8)

"What rage O citizens! has turned your swords
 Against yourselves and Latian blood affords
 To envious foes? —————

What *cestrum* ¹ what phrenetic mood 495
 Makes you thus lavish of your blood,
 While the proud Vies your trophies boast,
 And unrevenged walks —— ghost ?²
 What towns what garrisons might you,
 With hazard of this blood subdue 500
 Which now ye re bent to throw away
 In vain untriumphable fray ?³
 Shall saints in civil bloodshed wallow
 Of saints and let the Cause lie fallow ?⁴
 The Cause, for which we fought and swore 505
 So boldly, shall we now give o'er ?
 Then because quarrels still are seen
 With oaths and swearings to begin,
 The Solemn League and Covenant
 Will seem a mere God damme rant 510
 And we that took it and have fought,
 As lewd as drunkards that fall out
 For as we make war for the king
 Against himself,⁵ the self same thing

¹ *Cestrum* 1 not only a Greek word for madness but signifies also a gad bee or horse fly which torments cattle in summer and makes them run about as if they were mad

² Vies, or Devizes in Wiltshire The blank should be filled up with Waller This passage alludes to the defeat of Sir William Waller, by Wilmot, near that place July 13 1643 After the battle Sir William was entirely neglected by his party Clarendon calls it the battle of Roundway down and some in joke call it Runaway down

³ The Romans never granted a triumph to the conqueror in a *civil* war

⁴ Walker in his History of Independency observes that all the cheating ambitious covetous persons of the land were united together under the title of 'the Godly' 'the Saints' and shared the fat of the land between them He calls them "Saints who were canonized in the Devil's Calendar The support of the discipline, or ecclesiastical regimen by presbyters, was called *the Cause*

⁵ "To secure the king's person from danger, says Lord Clarendon, "was an expression they were not ashamed always to use when there was no danger that threatened but what themselves contrived and designed against him They not only declared that they fought for the king but that the raising and maintaining of soldiers for their own army would be an acceptable service to the king's parliament and kingdom They insisted on a difference between the king's *political* and his *natural* person and that his *political* must be and was, with the Parliament, though his *natural person* was at war with them

Some will not stick to swear we do 615
 For God and for religion too
 For if bear baiting we allow
 What good can Reformation do ?
 The blood and treasure that s laid out
 Is thrown away and goes for nought 620
 Are these the fruits o th Protestation,
 The prototype of Reformation
 Which all the saints and some since martyrs,¹
 Wore in their hats like wedding garters,³
 When twas resolved by their house 520
 Six members quarrel to espouse ?⁴
 Did they for this draw down the rabble,
 With zeal and noises formidable
 And make all cries about the town
 Join throats to cry the bishops down ?⁵ 530
 Who having round begirt the palace
 As once a month they do the gallows⁶
 As members gave the sign about
 Set up their throats with hideous shout
 When tinkers bawl d aloud⁷ to settle 530
 Church discipline, for patching kettle⁸

¹ The Protestation was drawn up and taken in the House of Commons May 3 1641 and immediately printed and dispersed over the nation the people carrying it about on the points of their spears It was the first attempt at a national combination against the establishment and was harbinger of the Covenant

² Those that were killed in the war
³ The protesters when they came tumultuously to the parliament house Dec 27 1641 to demand justice on the Earl of Strafford stuck printed copies of the Protestation in their hats in token of their zeal

⁴ Charles I ordered the following members Lord Kimbolton Pym Holles Hampden Haselrig and Stroud to be prosecuted for plotting with the Scots and stirring up sedition The Commons voted against their arrest upon which the king went to the house with his guard to seize them but they having intelligence of his design made their escape This was one of the first acts of open violence which preceded the civil wars

⁵ It is fresh in memory says the author of *Lex Talionis* how this city sent forth its spurious scum in multitudes to cry down bishops root and branch, with lying pamphlets &c —so far that a dog with a black and white face was commonly called a bishop

⁶ The executions at Tyburn were generally once a month

⁷ All these Cries so humorously substituted for the common street cries of the times represent the popular demands urged by the Puritans before and under the Long Parliament

⁸ For that is instead of

No sow gelder did blow his horn
 To geld a cat, but cried Reform
 The oyster women lock'd their fish up,
 And trudged away to cry No Bishop 540
 The mouse trap men laid save alls by,
 And gainst Ev'l Counsellors did cry
 Botchers left old clothes in the lurch
 And fell to turn and patch the church
 Some cried the Covenant instead 545
 Of pudding pies and ginger bread
 And some for brooms old boots and shoes,
 Bawl'd out to purge the Commons House
 Instead of kitchen stuff some cry
 A Gospel preaching ministry 550
 And some for old suits coats or cloak,
 No Surplices nor Service book
 A strange harmonious inclination¹
 Of all degrees to Reformation
 And is this all? is this the end 555
 To which these carr'ings on did tend?
 Hath public faith like a young heir,
 For this tak'n up all sorts of ware
 And run int' every tradesman's book,
 Till both turn'd bankrupts and are broke? 560
 Did saints for this bring in their plate,²
 And crowd as if they came too late?
 For when they thought the Cause had need on't
 Happy was he that could be rid on't
 Did they coin piss pots, bowls, and flagons, 565
 Int' officers of horse and dragoons,
 And into pikes and musketeers
 Stamp beakers, cups and porringers?

¹ The Scots in their large Declaration (163), begin their petition against the Common Prayer book thus — *We, men, women, children and servants having considered &c*

² Zealous persons on both sides, lent their plate to raise money for recruiting the army. Even poor women brought a spoon a tumbler or a bodkin. The king or some one for the parliament, gave notes of hand to repay with interest. Several colleges at Oxford have notes to this day, for their plate delivered to the king and many other notes of the same nature are still in existence. Purchases were also made by both parties on the "public faith, and large interest promised but nothing ever paid

A thimble bodkin, and a spoon,
 Did start up living men, as soon 570
 As in the furnace they were thrown,
 Just like the dragon's teeth being sown¹
 Then was the Cause all gold and plate
 The brethren's off rings consecrate
 Like the Hebrew calf and down before it 575
 The saints fell prostrate to adore it²
 So say the wicked—and will you
 Make that sarcastic scandal true,
 By running after dogs and bears
 Beasts more unclean than calves or steers³ 580
 Have powerful Preachers ply'd their tongues,³
 And laid themselves out and their lungs
 Us'd all means both direct and sinister
 In the power of gospel preaching minister⁴
 Have they invented tones to win 585
 The women and make them draw in
 The men as Indians with a female
 Tame elephant inveigle the male?
 Have they told Providence what it must do,⁴
 Whom to avoid and whom to trust to? 590
 Discover'd the enemy's design
 And which way best to countermine?
 Prescrib'd what ways he hath to work
 Or it will never advance the Kirk?

¹ Alluding to the fable of Cadmus Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, iii 106
 (Bohn's Translation page 85)

Exod xxxii

³ Calamy Ca'e and other Puritan preachers exhorted their flocks in the most moving terms and tones to contribute their money towards the support of the parliament army using such terms as 'O happy money that will purchase religion All ye that have contributed to the Parliament come and take this sacrament to your comfort'

⁴ Alluding to the profane familiarity which characterized the prayers of the most violent of the Presbyterian ministers and leaders Grey says it was a common practice to inform God of the transactions of the times And for those that were grown up in grace it was thought comely enough to take a great chair at the end of the table and sit with cocked hats on their heads to say 'God we thought it not amiss to call upon Thee this evening and let Thee know how affairs stand we do somewhat long to hear from Thee and if thou pleasest to give us such and such victories we shall be good to Thee in something else when it lies in our way'

Told it the news o th last express,¹ 595
 And after good or bad success
 Made prayers, not so like petitions,
 As overtures and propositions
 Such as the army did present
 To 'heir creator th parliament 600
 In which they freely will confess,
 They will not cannot acquiesce,²
 Unless the work be cairy d on
 In the same way they have begun,
 By settmg Church and Common weal 605
 All on a flame, bright as their zeal,
 On which the saints were all agog
 And all this for a bear and dog?
 The parliament drew up petitions³
 To tself and sent them like commissions, 610
 To well affected persons down
 In every city and great town
 With pow r to levy horse and men,
 Only to bring them back agen?
 For this did many, many a mile, 615
 Ride manfully in rank and file

¹ The prayers of the Presbyterians in those days, were very historical. Mr G. Swathe in his *Prayers* (pub 1640) p 12, says "I hear the king hath set up his standard at York against the parliament and the city of London. Look thou upon them take their cause into thine own hand, appear thou in the cause of thy sints the cause in hand."

'Tell them from the Holy Ghost says Beech from the word of truth that their destruction shall be terrible it shall be timely it shall be total

'Give thanks unto the Lord for he is gracious, and his mercy endureth for ever—Who remembered us at Naseby for his mercy endureth for ever

Who remembered us in Pembrokeshire for his mercy, &c

Who remembered us at Leicester for his mercy &c

Who remembered us at Taunton for his mercy, &c

Who remembered us at Bristol for his mercy &c

Alluding probably to their saucy expostulations with God from the pulpit, such as 'What dost thou mean O Lord to fling us into a ditch and there to leave us? Again 'Put the Lord out of countenance put him, as you would say, to the blush unless we be masters of our requests

³ It was customary for active members of parliament having special objects in view to draw up petitions "very modest and reasonable" and send them into the country to be signed then substituting something more suitable to their purpose. The Hertfordshire petition at the beginning of the war took notice of things which had occurred in parliament only the night before its delivery, although it was signed by many thousands

With papers in their hats that show d
 As if they to the pillory rode ?
 Have all these courses these efforts
 Been try d by people of all sorts, 620
Telis et remis omnibus nervis ¹
 And all t advance the Cause s service
 And shall all now be thrown away
 In petulant intestine fray ?
 Shall we that in the Cov nant swore, 625
 Each man of us to run before
 Another still in Reformation
 Give dogs and bears a dispensation ?
 How will dissenting brethren relish it ?
 What will Malignants ³ say ? *videlicet* 630
 That each man swore to do his best,
 To damn and perjure all the rest
 And bid the devil take the him most
 Which at this race is like to win most
 They ll say our bus ness to reform 635
 The Church and State is but a worm,
 For to subscribe unsight unseen ⁴
 T an unknown Church s discipline
 What is it else but before hand
 T engage and after understand ? 640
 For when we swore to carry on
 The present Reformation
 According to the purest mode
 Of Churches best reform d abroad ⁵
 What did we else but make a vow 645
 To do, we knew not what nor how ?

¹ That is, with all their might See Bohn s *Dictionary of Latin Quotations*

This was a common phrase in those days particularly with the zealous preachers and is inserted in the Solemn League and Covenant

³ The name given to the King s party by the parliament

⁴ This refers to the haste with which the nation was made to 'engage' in the Solemn League and Covenant as the price of the assistance of the Scotch army on the parliament s side

⁵ The Presbyterians pretended to desire such a reformation as had taken place in the neighbouring Churches the king offered to invite any Churches to a National Synod and could not even obtain an answer to the proposal

For no three of us will agree
 Where or what Churches these should be,
 And is indeed the self same case
 With theirs that swore *et cæteras* ¹ 650
 Or the French league in which men vow d
 To fight to the last drop of blood ²
 These slanders will be thrown upon
 The cause and work we carry on
 If we permit men to run headlong 655
 T' exorbitances fit for Bedlam
 Rather than gospel walking times,³
 When slightest sins are greatest crimes
 But we the matter so shall handle,
 As to remove that odious scandal 660
 In name of king and parliament,⁴
 I charge ye all no more foment
 This feud but keep the peace between
 Your brethren and your countrymen,
 And to those places straight repair 665
 Where your respective dwellings are

A sly stroke of the poet s at hi own party By the convocation which sat in the beginning of 1640 all the clergy were required to take an oath in this form Not will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops bishops deans, archdeacons *et cætera* Dr Heylin a member of the Convocation endeavoured to make it appear that the *et cætera* was inserted by mistake The absurdity of the oath is thus lashed by his brother satirist Cleveland p 33

"Who swears *et cætera* swears more oaths at once
 Than Cerberus out of his triple scence

² The 'Holy League' entered into for the extirpation of Protestantism in France 1576 was the original of the Scotch Solemn League and Covenant Nor did they differ much in their result Both ended with the murder of two kings whom they had sworn to defend This comparison has also been made paragraph by paragraph, by Sir William Dugdale in his Short View of the Troubles

³ A cant phrase of the time

⁴ The Presbyterians made a distinction between the king s person politic, and his person natural when they fought against the latter, it was in defence of the former always inseparable from the parliament The commission granted to the Earl of Essex was in the name of the king and parliament But when the Independents got the upper hand the name of the king was omitted, and the commission of Sir Thomas Fairfax ran only in the name of the parliament

But to that purpose first surrender
 The fiddler as the prime offender,¹
 Th incendiary vile that is chief
 Author and engineer of mischief 670
 That makes division between friends
 For profane and malignant ends
 He and that engine of vile noise
 On which illegally he plays
 Shall *dictum factum* both be brought 675
 To condign punishment as th ought
 This must be done, and I would fain see
 Mortal so sturdy as to gainsay
 For then I ll take another course
 And soon reduce you all by force 680
 Thus said he clapt his hand on sword
 To show he meant to keep his word
 But Talgol, who had long suppress
 Inflamed wrath in glowing breast
 Which now began to rage and burn as 685
 Implacably as flame in furnace
 Thus answer d him Thou vermin wretched,²
 As e er in measled pork was hatched
 Thou tail of worship, that dost grow
 On rump of justice as of cow 690
 How dar st thou with that sullen luggage
 O th self old iron³ and other baggage
 With which thy steed of bones and leather
 Has broke his wind in halting luther

¹ Alluding to the fable of the trumpeter who was put to death for setting people together by the ears without fighting himself. It is meant to ridicule the clamours made by parliament against supposed evil counselors by which Strafford, Laud, and others were sacrificed.

The speech though coarse and becoming the mouth of a butcher (see Canto II l 295) is an excellent satire upon the justices of the peace in those days who were often shoemakers tailors or common livery servants. In stead of making peace with their neighbours they hunted impertinently for trifling offences and severely punished them. But it may be asked (says Grey) why Talgol was the first in answering the knight, when it seems more incumbent upon the bearward to make the defence? Probably Talgol might then be a Cavalier for the character the poet has given him does not infer the contrary, and his answer carries strong indications to justify the conjecture.

³ Meaning his sword and pistols

How durst th' I say, adventure thus 695
 T oppose thy lumber against us ?
 Could thine impertinence find out
 No work t employ itself about
 Where thou secure from wooden blow,
 Thy busy vanity might show ? 700
 Was no dispute afoot between
 The caterwauling bretheren ?
 No subtle question rus d among
 Those out o their wits and those i th wrong ?
 No prize between those combatants 705
 O' th times, the land and water saints, ¹
 Where thou might st stickle without hazard
 Of outrage to thy hide and mazzard ²
 And not, for want of bus ness, come
 To us to be thus troublesome 710
 To interrupt our better sort
 Of disputants and spoil our sport ?
 Was there no felony no brawd
 Cut purse ³ nor burglary abroad ?
 No stolen pig nor plunder d goose, 715
 To tie thee up from breaking loose ?
 No ale unlicens d broken hedge,
 For which thou statute might st allege,
 To keep thee busy from foul evil
 And shame due to thee from the devil ? 720
 Did no committee sit ⁴ where he
 Might cut out journey work for thee ,

¹ That is the Presbyterians and Anabaptists

² Face or head see Wright's Provincial Diet, *sub voce* Mazer is used for a head, seriously by Sylvester and ludicrously in two old plays From mazer comes mazzard as from visor, vizard

Men formerly hung their purses, by a silken or leathern strap, to their belts outside their garments Hence the term cut purse

⁴ In many counties certain persons appointed by the parliament to promote their interest, had power to raise money for their use, and to punish their opponents by fine and imprisonment these persons were called a *Committee* Walker, in his History of Independency, says that ' to historians at large the grievances of committees would require a volume as big as the Book of Martyrs, and that the people might as easily expect to find charity in hell, as justice in any committee

And set th' a task, with subornation,
 To stich up sale and sequestration,
 To cheat, with holiness and zeal 725
 All parties and the common weal?
 Much better had it been for thee,
 H had kept thee where th art us d to be,
 Or sent th on business any whither
 So he had never brought thee hither 730
 But if th hast brain enough in skull
 To keep itself in lodging whole
 And not provoke the rage of stones,
 And cudgels to thy hide and bones
 Tremble and vanish while thou may st, 735
 Which I ll not promise if thou stay st
 At this the Knight grew high in wrath,
 And lifting hands and eyes up both
 Three times he smote on stomach stout
 From whence at length these words broke out 740
 Was I for this entitled Sir,
 And girt with trusty sword and spur,
 For fame and honour to wage battle,
 Thus to be brav d by foe to cattle?
 Not all the pride that makes thee swell 745
 As big as thou dost blown up veal
 Nor all thy tricks and sleights to cheat,
 And sell thy carrion for good meat
 Not all thy magic to repair
 Decay d old age in tough lean ware, 750
 Make nat ral death appear thy work
 And stop the gangrene in stale pork
 Not all the force that makes thee proud,
 Because by bullock ne er withstood
 Tho arm d with all thy cleavers knives, 755
 And axes made to hew down lives,
 Shall save or help thee to evade
 The hand of justice or this blade
 Which I, her sword bearer do carry,
 For civil deed and military 760
 Nor shall these words of venom base
 Which thou hast from their native place,

Thy stomach pump'd to fling on me,
 Go unreveng'd, though I am free ¹
 Thou down the same throat shalt devour 'em 765
 Like tainted beef and pay dear for 'em
 Nor shall it e'er be said, that wight
 With gauntlet blue and bases white ²
 And round blunt dudgeon by his side ³
 So great a man at arms defy'd, 770
 With words far bitterer than wormwood
 That would in Job or Grizel stir mood ⁴
 Dogs with their tongues their wounds do heal,
 But men with hands as thou shalt feel
 This said with hasty rage he snatch'd 775
 His gun shot, that in holsters watch'd
 And bending cock he levell'd full
 Against the outside of Talgol's skull,
 Vowing that he should ne'er stir further,
 Nor henceforth cow or bullock murder 780
 But Pallas came in shape of rust, ⁵
 And 'twixt the spring and hammer thrust
 Her gorgon shield which made the cock
 Stand stiff, as if 'twere turn'd to a stock
 Meanwhile fierce Talgol gath'ring might 785
 With rugged truncheon charg'd the Knight,
 But he with petronel ⁶ upheav'd
 Instead of shield the blow receiv'd ⁷

¹ Free, that is untouched by your accusations as being free from what you charge me with. So *Shakspeare*, "We that have free souls &c, *Hamlet* III 2

² Meaning a butcher's blue sleeves and white apron. Gauntlets were gloves of plate mail bases were mantles which hung from the middle to about the knees or lower, worn by knights on horseback

³ The steel on which a butcher whets his knife, called humorously a "dudgeon, or dagger. Some editions put *truncheon*

⁴ The patience of Grisel is celebrated by Chaucer in the Clerk's Tale. The story is taken from Petrarch's 'Epistola de historia Grisehdis, and was the subject of a popular English Chap book in 1619, often reprinted

⁵ A banter upon Homer Virgil and other epic poets who have always a deity at hand to protect their heroes. See also lines 864 5

⁶ A horseman's pistol

⁷ These lines were changed to the following in 1674, and restored in 1704

And he his rusty pistol held
 To take the blow on like a shield

The gun recoil'd as well it might,
 Not us d to such a kind of fight 790
 And shrunk from its great master s gripe,
 Knock d down and stunn d with mortal stripe
 Then Hudibras with furious haste
 Drew out his sword yet not so fast,
 But Talgol first with hardy thwack 795
 Twice bruin d his head and twice his back ,
 But when his nut brown¹ sword was out,
 Courageously he laid about
 Imprinting many a wound upon
 His mortal foe the truncheon 800
 The trusty cudgel did oppose
 Itself against dead doing blows
 To guard its leader from fell bane,
 And then reveng d itself again
 And though the sword some understood, 805
 In force had much the odds of wood
 'Twas nothing so , both sides were balanc't
 So equal none knew which was valian st
 For wood with honour b'ing engag d,
 Is so implacably enrag d 810
 Though iron hew and mangle sore,
 Wood wounds and bruises honour more
 And now both knights were out of breath,
 Tir d in the hot pursuit of death
 Whilst all the rest, amaz d stood still, 815
 Expecting which should take² or kill
 This Hudibras observ d and fretting
 Conquest should be so long a getting,
 He drew up all his force into
 One body, and that into one blow 820
 But Talgol wisely avoided it
 By cunning sleight, for had it hit
 The upper part of him the blow
 Had slit as sure as that below

¹ Rugged in the first two editions changed perhaps because the term is just previously applied to a truncheon. The description of the combat is a ludicrous imitation of the conflicts recorded in the old romances

² Take, that is take prisoner, as in line 905

Meanwhile th' incomparable Colon, 825
 To aid his friend began to fall on,
 ✓ Him Ralph encounter'd, and straight grew
 A dismal combat twixt them two
 Th' one arm'd with metal th' other wood,
 This fit for bruise and that for blood, 830
 With many a stiff thwack, many a bang,
 Hard crab tree and old iron rang,
 While none that saw them could divine
 To which side conquest would incline
 Until Magnano who did envy 835
 That two should with so many men vie,
 By subtle stratagem of brain
 Perform'd what force could ne'er attain,
 For he, by foul hap having found
 Where thistles grew on barren ground, 840
 In haste he drew his weapon out
 And having cropp'd them from the root,
 He clapp'd them under th' horse's tail,¹
 With prickles sharper than a nail
 The angry beast did straight resent 845
 The wrong done to his fundament,
 Began to kick and fling and wince,
 As if h' had been beside his sense
 Striving to disengage from thistle,
 That gall'd him sorely under his tail 850
 Instead of which he threw the pack
 Of Squire and baggage from his back,
 And blund'ring still with smarting rump,
 He gave the Knight's steed such a thump
 As made him reel The Knight did stoop, 855
 And sat on further side aslope
 This Talgol viewing who had now,
 By flight escap'd the fatal blow,
 He rally'd, and again fell to t
 For catching foe by nearer foot, 860
 He lifted with such might and strength,
 As would have hurl'd him thrice his length,

¹ The same trick was played upon Don Quixote's Rosinante and Sancho's dapple.

And dash d his brains if any out
 But Mars who still protects the stout,
 In pudding time came to his aid 865
 And under him the bear convey d
 The bear upon whose soft fur gown
 The Knight with all his weight fell down
 The friendly rug preserv d the ground
 And headlong Knight from bruise or wound 870
 Like feather bed betwixt a wall ¹
 And heavy brunt of cannon ball
 As Sancho on a blanket fell
 And had no hurt ours far d as well
 In body though his mighty spirit 875
 B'ng heavy did not so well bear it
 The bear was in a greater fright
 Beat down and woisted by the Knight
 He roar d and rag d and flung about,
 To shake off bondage from his snout 880
 His wrath inflam d boil d o'er and from
 His jaws of death he threw the foam
 Fury in stranger postures threw him
 And more than ever herald drew him ³
 He tore the earth which he had sav d 885
 From squelch of Knight and storm d and rav d
 And vex d the more because the harms
 He felt were gainst the Law of arms
 For men he always took to be
 His friends and dogs the enemy 890
 Who never so much hurt had done him
 As his own side did falling on him
 It griev d him to the guts that they
 For whom h had fought so many a fray
 And serv d with loss of blood so long, 895
 Should offer such inhuman wrong
 Wrong of unsoldier like condit'ion
 For which he flung down his commission ⁴

¹ Alluding to the protective measures recommended in old works on military fortification

² Sancho's adventure at the inn where he was toss'd in a blanket

³ Alluding to the remarkable and unnatural positions in which animals are conventionally portrayed in coats of arms

⁴ A ridicule on the petulant behaviour of the military men in the Civil

And laid about him till his nose
 From thrall of ring and cord broke loose 900
 Soon as he felt himself enlarg'd,
 Through thickest of his foes he charg'd,
 And made way through th' amazed crew,
 Some he o'erran, and some o'erthrew,
 But took none for by hasty flight 905
 He strove to avoid the conquering Knight,
 From whom he fled with as much haste
 And dread as he the rabble chased
 In haste he fled and so did they
 Each and his fear¹ a several way 910
 Crowdero only kept the field
 Not stirring from the place he held,
 Though beaten down, and wounded sore,
 I' th' fiddle and a leg that bore
 One side of him not that of bone, 915
 But much its better, th' wooden one
 He spying Hudibras he strow'd
 Upon the ground like log of wood
 With fright of fall, supposed wound,
 And loss of urine in a swoond² 920
 In haste he snatch'd the wooden limb,
 That hurt i' th' ankle lay by him,
 And fitting it for sudden fight
 Straight drew it up to attack the Knight
 For getting up on stump and huckle,³ 925
 He with the foe began to buckle,
 Vowing to be reveng'd for breach
 Of crowd and shin upon the wretch,
 Sole author of all detriment
 He and his fiddle underwent 930
 But Ralpho who had now begun
 T' adventure resurrection⁴

Wars, it being common for those of either party, at a distressful juncture, to come to the king or parliament with some unreasonable demands, and if they were not compli'd with to throw up their commissions and go over to the opposite side pretending that they could not in honour serve any longer under such unsoldier like indignities

¹ That is, that which he feared

² The twofold effect of the Knight's fear

³ Put here for knee the word means hip

⁴ A ridicule on the Sectaries who were fond of using Scripture phrases

From heavy squelch and had got up
 Upon his legs with sprained crup,
 Looking about beheld the bard 985
 To charge the Knight entranc'd prepar'd¹
 He snatch'd his whinyard up that fled
 When he was falling off his steed
 As rats do from a falling house
 To hide itself from rage of blows 940
 And wing'd with speed and fury flew
 To rescue Knight from black and blue
 Which ere he could achieve his sconce
 The leg encounter'd twice and once²
 And now twas rais'd to smite agen 945
 When Ralpho thrust himself between
 He took the blow upon his arm
 To shield the Knight from further harm
 And joining wrath with force bestow'd
 O th' wooden member such a load 950
 That down it fell and with it bore
 Crowdero whom it propp'd before
 To him the Squire right nimbly run,
 And setting conqu'ring foot upon
 His trunk thus spoke What desp'rate frenzy 955
 Made thee thou whelp of sin to fancy
 Thyself and all that coward rabble
 T' encounter us in battle able?
 How durst th' I say oppose thy curship
 Gainst arms authority and worship 960
 And Hudibras or me provoke
 Though all thy limbs were heart of oak
 And th' other half of thee as good
 To bear our³ blows as that of wood?
 Could not the whipping post prevail, 965
 With all its rhet'ric nor the jail

¹ *Var* Looking about beheld pernicion
 Approaching Knight from fell musician

² A ridicule of the poetical way of expressing numbers. It occurs in Shak-
 speare Thus Justice Silence in Henry IV Act v Who I³ I have been
 merry twice and once ere now And the witch in Macbeth Act v Twice
 and once the hedge pig whined

³ Out, is the usual reading but the first edition has our, which
 seems preferable

To keep from flaying scourge thy skin,
 And ankle free from iron gin?
 Which now thou shalt—but first our care
 Must see how Hudibras doth fare 970
 This said, he gently rais d the Knight,
 And set him on his bum upright
 To rouse him from lethargic dump ¹
 He tweak d his nose with gentle thump ²
 Knock d on his breast as if t had been 975
 To raise the spirits lodg d within
 They, waken d with the noise did fly
 From inward room to window eye
 And gently op ning lid the casement,
 Look d out, but yet with some amazement 980
 This gladded Ralpho much to see,
 Who thus bespoke the Knight quoth he,
 Tweaking his nose, You are, great Sir,
 A self denying conqueror, ³
 As high victorious and great 985
 As e er fought for the Churches yet,
 If you will give yourself but leave
 To make out what y already have
 That s victory The foe for dread
 Of your nine worthiness ⁴ is fled 990
 All save Crowdero for whose sake
 You did th' espous d Cause undertake,
 And he hes pris ner at your feet
 To be dispos d as you think meet,

¹ Compare this with the situation of Hector who was stunned by a severe blow received from Ajax, and then comforted by Apollo—*Iliad* xv 240

² Shakspeare represents Adonis attempting after this fashion to rouse Venus from her swoon—

“He wrings her nose he strikes her on the cheek

See also Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Nice Valour* Act iii

³ Ridiculing the Self denying Ordinance by which the members of both Houses who were in the army pledged themselves to renounce either their civil or their military appointments Grey thinks that Butler here meant to sneer at Sir Samuel Luke who notwithstanding the Self denying Ordinance, continued for 20 days to hold office as governor of Newport Pagnell.

⁴ Thrice worthy is a common appellation in romances This is borrowed from the History of the ‘Nine Worthies’

Either for life, or death or sale,¹ 995
 The gallows or perpetual jail
 For one wink of your pow'rful eye
 Must sentence him to live or die
 His fiddle is your proper purchase²
 Won in the service of the Churches, 1000
 And by your doom must be allow'd
 To be or be no more a Crowd
 For tho' success did not confer
 Just title on the conqueror³
 Tho' dispensations were not strong 1005
 Conclusions whether right or wrong
 Altho' outgoings did not⁴ confirm
 And owning were but a mere term⁵
 Yet as the wicked have no right
 To th' creature⁶ tho' usurp'd by might, 1010
 The property is in the saint
 From whom th' injuriously detain'd,
 Of him they hold their luxuries
 Their dogs their houses whores and dice,
 Their riots revels masks delights 1015
 Pimps buffoons fiddlers parasites,
 All which the saints have title to
 And ought to enjoy if th' had their due
 What we take from them is no more
 Than what was ours by right before 1020
 For we are their true landlords still
 And they our tenants but at will
 At this the Knight began to rouse,
 And by degrees grow valorous
 He star'd about and seeing none 1025
 Of all his foes remain but one
 He snatch'd his weapon that lay near him
 And from the ground began to rear him

¹ The phrases bantered here were popular amongst the Puritans

That is acquisition by conquest the original meaning of the word

² Success was pleaded by the Presbyterians as a proof of the justice of their cause ⁴ So in the three first editions But 1710 omits 'not

⁵ Dispensations outgoings carryings on nothingness ownings, &c were cant words of the time For others see Canto I ver 109

⁶ It was maintained by the Puritans of those days that all Dominion is

Vowing to make Crowdero pay
 For all the rest that ran away 1030
 But Ralpho now, in colder blood,
 His fury mildly thus withstood
 Great Sir quoth he, your mighty spirit
 Is rais'd too high this slave does merit
 To be the hangman's business, sooner 1035
 Than from your hand to have the honour
 Of his destruction I that am
 A nothingness¹ in deed and name,
 Did scorn to hurt his forfeit carcase,
 Or ill entreat his fiddle or case 1040
 Will you great Sir that glory blot
 In cold blood which you gain'd in hot?²
 Will you employ your conqu'ring sword
 To break a fiddle and your word?
 For tho' I fought and overcame, 1045
 And quarter gave 'twas in your name²
 For great commanders always own
 What's prosperous by the soldier done
 To save, where you have power to kill,
 Argues your power above your will, 1050
 And that your will and power have less
 Than both might have of selfishness
 This power which now alive with dread
 He trembles at if he were dead
 Would no more keep the slave in awe 1055
 Than if you were a knight of straw
 For death would then be his conqueror,
 Not you, and free him from that terror
 If danger from his life accrue,
 Or honour from his death to you, 1060
 'Twere policy, and honour too,
 To do as you resolv'd to do

founded in grace, and therefore if a man wanted grace and was not a saint
 like or godly man he had no right to any lands goods or chattels, and
 that the Saints had a right to all, and might take it wherever they had
 power to do so

¹ One of the cant terms of the times

² Obviously a satire upon the parliament, who made no scruple at infringing articles of capitulation granted by their generals, if they found them too advantageous to the enemy

But Sh¹ twou d wrong your valour much
 To say it needs or fears a crutch
 Great conqu rors greater glory gam 1065
 By foes in triumph led than slain
 The laurels that adorn their brows
 Are pull d from living not dead boughs
 And living foes the greatest fame
 Of cripple slain can be but lame 1070
 One half of him s already slain
 The other is not worth your pain
 Th¹ honour can but on one side light
 As worship did when y were dubb d Knight
 Wherefore I think it better far 1075
 To keep him prisoner of war
 And let him fast in bonds abide
 At court of justice to be try d
 Where if h appear so bold or crafty
 There may be danger in his safety¹ 1080
 If any member there dislike
 His face or to his beard have pike
 Or if his death will save or yield
 Revenge or fright it is reveal d³
 Tho he has quarter ne ertheless 1085
 Y have pow r to hang him when y ou please⁴
 This has been often done by some
 Of our great conqu rors you know whom

¹ The conduct of Cromwell in the case of Lord Capel will explain this line. After pronouncing high encomium on him and when every one expected he would vote to save his life he took the opposite course because of his firm loyalty¹. See *Clarendon*. ² That is pique.

³ One of the most objectionable of all the cant religious phrases of the time as it involved the pretence of supernatural instruction. In some cases after the Rebels had taken a prisoner upon the promise of quarter they would say that it had since been revealed to such a one that he should die whereupon they would hang him. Dr South observes of Harrison the regicide a butcher by profession and a preaching Colonel in the Parliament army. That he was notable for having killed several after quarter given by others using these words in doing it. Cursed be he who doeth the work of the Lord negligently.

⁴ The arbitrary proceedings of the Long Parliament and the Committees appointed by it in respect of the lives and property of royalists and of any who had enemies to call them royalists are here referred to. A contemporary MS note in our copy of the first edition states that this line refers to Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle who were executed after quarter given them by General Fairfax.

And has by most of us been held
 Wise justice and to some reveal d 1090
 For words and promises that yoke
 The conqueror are quickly broke,
 Like Samson's cuffs tho' by his own
 Directions and advice put on
 For if we should fight for the Cause 1095
 By rules of military laws
 And only do what they call just
 The Cause would quickly fall to dust
 This we among ourselves may speak,
 But to the wicked or the weak 1100
 We must be cautious to declare
 Perfection truths such as these are ¹
 This said the high outrageous mettle
 Of Knight began to cool and settle
 He lik'd the Squire's advice, and soon 1105
 Resolv'd to see the business done
 And therefore charg'd him first to bind
 Crowdero's hands on rump behind,
 And to its former place, and use,
 The wooden member to reduce 1110
 But force it take an oath before,
 Ne'er to bear arms against him more ²
 Ralpho dispatch'd with speedy haste,
 And having ty'd Crowdero fast
 He gave Sir Knight the end of cord, 1115
 To lead the captive of his sword
 In triumph, while the steeds he caught,
 And them to further service brought
 The Squire, in state, rode on before,
 And on his nut brown whinyard bore 1120
 The trophy fiddle and the case,
 Leaning on shoulder ³ like a mace

¹ Truths revealed only to the perfect or the initiated in the higher mysteries and here signifying esoteric doctrines in morals, such as were avowed by many of the Parliamentary leaders and advisers

² The poet in making the wooden leg take an oath not to serve again against his captor ridicules those who obliged their prisoners to take such oaths. The prisoners taken at Brentford were so sworn by the Royalists, but Dr Downing and Mr Marshall absolved them from this oath, and they immediately served again in the parliament army

³ *Var* Plac'd on his shoulder

The Knight himself did after ride,
 Leading Crowdero by his side,
 And tow d him if he lagg d behind 112^o
 Like boat against the tide and wind
 Thus grave and solemn they march on,
 Until quite thro the town they d gone
 At further end of which there stands
 An ancient castle, that commands ¹ 1130
 Th adjacent parts in all the fabrick
 You shall not see one stone nor a brick
 But all of wood by pow rful spell
 Of magic made impregnable
 There s neither iron bar nor gate 113^o
 Portcullis, chain nor bolt nor grate
 And yet men durance there abide
 In dungeon scarce three inches wide
 With roof so low that under it
 They never stand but lie or sit 1140
 And yet so foul that whoso is in,
 Is to the middle leg in prison
 In circle magical confin d
 With walls of subtle air and wind
 Which none are able to break thorough 1145
 Until they re freed by head of borough
 Thither arriv d the advent rous Knight
 And bold Squire from their steeds alight
 At th outward wall near which there stands
 A Ba tile built t imprison hands 1150
 By strange enchantment made to fetter
 The lesser parts and free the greater
 For tho the body may creep through
 The hands in grate are fast enow
 And when a circle bout the wrist 115^o
 Is made by beadle exorcist
 The body feels the spur and switch
 As if t were ridden post by witch,

¹ The Stocks are here pictured as an enchanted castle, with infinite wit and humour and in the true spirit of burlesque poetry

² A description of the whipping post and a satire upon the great State prison at Paris of which there were many tales abroad strange to English ears even in Star chamber times

At twenty miles an hour pace,
 And yet ne'er stirs out of the place 1160
 On top of this there is a spire
 On which Sir Knight first bids the Squire
 The fiddle and its spoils¹ the case,
 In manner of a trophy place
 That done they open the trap door gate 1165
 And let Crowdero down thereat
 Crowdero making doleful face
 Like hermit poor in pensive place *
 To dungeon they the wretch commit
 And the survivor of his feet 1170
 But the other that had broke the peace
 And head of knighthood they release
 Tho' a delinquent false and forged
 Yet being a stranger he is enlarged³
 While his comrade that did so hurt, 1175
 Is clapped up fast in prison for it
 So justice, while she winks at crimes,
 Stumbles on innocence sometimes

¹ That is its hide skin or covering as in 'spoils of the chase'

This is the first line of a love song in great vogue about the year 1650. It is given entire in Walton's Angler (Bohn's edit. p. 159).

² This alludes to the case of Sir Bernard Gascoign who was condemned at Colchester with Sir Chauncy Lucas and Sir George Lisle but respited from execution on account of his being a foreigner and a person of some interest in his own country (Italy). See *Clarendon's Rebellion*.



PART I CANTO III




ARGUMENT¹

The scatter'd rout return and rally
Surround the place the Knight does saly
And is made pris ner then they seize
Th enchanted fort by storm release
Crowdero and put the Squire in s place
I should have first said Hudibras

¹ The Author follows the example of Spenser and the Italian poets in the division of his work into parts and cantos. Spenser contents himself with a quatrain at the head of each canto. Butler more fully informs his readers what they are to expect by an argument in the same style with the poem and shows that he knew how to enliven so dry a thing as a summary.

PART I CANTO III


 x me' what perils do environ
 The man that meddles with cold iron!¹
 What plaguy mischiefs and mishaps
 Do dog him still with afterclaps!
 For tho' dame Fortune seem to smile,
 And leer upon him for a while
 She'll after show him in the nick
 Of all his glories, a dog-trick
 This any man may sing or say
 I' th' ditty call'd 'What if a day?'² 10
 For Hudibras, who thought he'd won
 The field as certain as a gun³
 And having routed the whole troop,
 With victory was cock a hoop!⁴

¹ A parody on Spenser's verses

Ay me! how many perils do enfold
 The virtuous man to make him daily fall
Fairy Queen Book 1 canto 8

These two lines have become a kind of proverbial expression partly owing to the moral reflection, and partly to the jingle of the double rhyme they are applied sometimes to a man mortally wounded with a sword and sometimes to a lady who pricks her finger with a needle. It was humorously applied by the Cambridge wits to Jeffreys on the publication of Lord Byron's "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." Butler in his MS. Common Place book on this passage observes "Cold iron in Greenland burns as grievously as hot." Some editions read "Ah me"

An old ballad, which begins

What if a day or a month, or a year
 Crown thy delights
 With a thousand wish't contentings!¹
 Cannot the chance of a night or an hour
 Cross thy delights
 With as many sad tormentings?²

³ The first edition reads 'Suer as a gun'

⁴ That is, crowing or rejoicing Handbook of Proverbs, p. 154

Thinking he d done enough to purchase 1s
 Thanksgiving day among the churches ¹
 Wherein his metal and brave worth
 Might be explain d by holder forth
 And register d by fame eteinal
 In deathless pages of diurnal ² 20
 Found in few minutes to his cost
 He did but count without his host ³
 And that a turn stile is more certain
 Than in events of war Dame Fortune
 For now the late faint hearted rout
 O erthrown and scatter d round about
 Chas d by the horror of their fear
 From bloody fray of Knight and Bear
 All but the dogs who in pursuit
 Of the Knight s victory stood to t 30
 And most ignobly sought ⁴ to get
 The honour of his blood and sweat ⁵
 Seeing the coast was free and clean
 O the conquer d and the conqueror
 Took heart of grace ⁶ and fac d about 35
 As if they meant to stand it out
 For now the half defeated bear ⁷
 Attack d by th enemy i th rear
 Finding their number grew too great
 For him to make a safe retreat 40
 Like a bold chieftain fac d about
 But wisely doubting to hold out
 Gave way to fortune and with haste
 Fac d the proud foe, and fled and fac d,

¹ The parliament was accustomed to order a day of public Thanksgiving on occasion of every advantage gained over the Royalists however trifling And at these seasons the valour and worthiness of the leader who had gained the victory were lauded and enlarged upon

² The gazettes or newspapers on the side of the parliament were published daily and called Diurnals

³ Handbook of Proverbs, p 542

⁴ Var Fought

⁵ An allusion to the complaint of the Presbyterian commanders against the Independents when the Self denying Ordinance had excluded them

⁶ Altered in subsequent editions to "took heart again"

⁷ The first editions read For by this time the routed bear

Retiring still, until he found 40
 He d got th advantage of the ground,
 And then as valiantly made head
 To check the foe and forthwith fled,
 Leaving no art untry d nor trick
 Of warrior stout and politick, 50
 Until, in spite of hot pursuit
 He gain d a pass, to hold dispute
 On better terms, and stop the course
 Of the proud foe With all his force
 He bravely charg d and for a while 55
 Forc d their whole body to recoil
 But still their numbers so increas d,
 He found himself at length oppress d,
 And all evasions so uncertain
 To save himself for better fortune 60
 That he resolv'd, rather than yield,
 To die with honour in the field
 And sell his hide and carcase at
 A price as high and desperate
 As e er he could This resolution 65
 He forthwith put in execution
 And bravely threw himself among
 Th' enemy i th greatest throng,
 But what could single valour do
 Against so numerous a foe 70
 Yet much he did indeed too much
 To be believ d where th odds were such,
 But one against a multitude
 Is more than mortal can make good
 For while one party he oppos d, 75
 His rear was suddenly enclos d
 And no room left him for retreat,
 Or fight against a foe so great
 For now the mastiffs, charging home,
 To blows and handy gripes were come, 80
 While manfully himself he bore
 And, setting his right foot before,
 He rais d himself to show how tall
 His person was, above them all

This equal shame and envy stirr'd
 In th' enemy that one should beard
 So many warriors and so stout
 As he had done and stav'd it out
 Disdaining to lay down his arms
 And yield on honourable terms
 Enraged thus some in the rear
 Attack'd him and some ev'rywhere
 Till down he fell yet falling fought
 And being down still laid about
 As Widdrington in doleful dumps
 Is said to fight upon his stumps¹
 But all alas! had been in vain
 And he inevitably slain
 If Trulla and Cerdon in the nick
 To rescue him had not been quick
 For Trulla who was light of foot
 As shafts which long field Parthians shoot²
 But not so light as to be borne
 Upon the ears of standing corn³
 Or trip it over the water quicker
 Than witches when their staves they liquor,⁴
 As some report was got among
 The foremost of the martial throng
 Where pitying the vanquish'd bear
 She call'd to Cerdon who stood near
 Viewing the bloody fight to whom
 Shall we quoth she stand still hum drum
 And see stout Bruin all alone
 By numbers basely overthrown?

¹ So in the famous song of Chevy Chase

For Witherington needs must I wail
 As one in doleful dumps
 For when his legs were smitten off
 He fought upon his stumps

² *Long field* is a term of archery and a *long fielder* is still a hero at a cricket match

³ A satirical stroke at the character of Camilla whose speed is hyperbolically described by Virgil at the end of the seventh book of the *Æneid*

⁴ Witches are said to ride upon broomsticks and to liquor, or grease them that they may go faster See Lucan, vi 572

Such feats already he as achiev'd, 115
 In story not to be believ'd,
 And twould to us be shame enough,
 Not to attempt to fetch him off
 I would quoth he, venture a limb
 To second thee, and rescue him 120
 But then we must about it straight,
 Or else our aid will come too late,
 Quarter he scorns he is so stout,
 And therefore cannot long hold out
 This said they wav'd their weapons round 125
 About their heads, to clear the ground,
 And joining forces, laid about
 So fiercely that th' amazed rout
 Turn'd tail again, and straight begun,
 As if the devil drove, to run 130
 Meanwhile th' approach'd th' place where Brun
 Was now engag'd to mortal ruin
 The conqu'ring foe they soon assail'd
 First Trulla stav'd and Cerdon tail'd¹
 Until the mastiffs loos'd their hold 135
 And yet, alas! do what they could,
 The worsted bear came off with store
 Of bloody wounds but all before²
 For as Achilles dipt in pond
 Was anabaptiz'd free from wound 140
 Made proof against dead doing steel
 All over, but the pagan heel,³

¹ Trulla interposed her staff between the dogs and the bear in order to part them, and Cerdon drew the dogs away by their tails. Staving and tailing are technical terms used in the bear garden but are sometimes applied metaphorically to higher pursuits as law, divinity &c

² That is honourable wounds. The reader familiar with Shakspeare will remember Old Siward in the last scene of Macbeth

Sev ———— Had he his hurts before³

Ross Aye, in the front

Why then God's soldier is he!

Had I as many sons as I have hairs,

I would not wish them to a fairer death

And so his knell is knoll'd

³ The Anabaptists insisted upon the necessity of immersion in baptism, so Butler uses the word "anabaptized" as equivalent to "dipt" but as the vulnerable heel was not dipt, he calls it "pagan"

So did our champion s arms defend
 All of him but the other end
 His head and ears which in the martial 140
 Encounter lost a leathern parcel
 For as an Austrian archduke once
 Had one ear which in ducatoons
 Is half the coin in battle par d
 Close to his head ¹ so Bruin far d 150
 But tugg d and pull d on th other side
 Like scriv ner newly crucify d ²
 Or like the late corrected leathern
 Ears of the circumcised brethren ³
 But gentle Trulla into th ring 155
 He wore in s nose convey d a string
 With which she march d before, and led
 The warrior to a grassy bed
 As authors write in a cool shade ⁴
 Which eglantine and roses made 160
 Close by a softly murm ring stream
 Where lovers use to loll and dream
 There leaving him to his repose,
 Secured from pursuit of foes,

¹ Albert archduke of Austria, brother to the emperor Rodolph the Second had one of his ears grazed by a spear when he had taken off his helmet and was endeavouring to rally his soldiers in an engagement with Prince Maurice of Nassau ann 1598 A ducatoon 1 half a ducat

² In those days lawyers or scriveners guilty of dishonest practices were sentenced to lose their ears

³ Pryne Bastwick and Burton who were placed in the pillory and had their ears cut off by order of the Star chamber in 1637 for writing seditious libels They were banished into remote parts of the kingdom but recalled by the parliament in 1640 At their return the populace received them with enthusiasm They were met near London by ten thousand persons carrying boughs and flowers and the members of the Star chamber concerned in punishing them, were fined £4000 for each

⁴ The passage which commences with this line is an admirable satire on the romance writers of those days who imitated the well known passages in Homer and Virgil which represented the care taken by the deities of their favourites after combats In this passage (says Ramsay) the burlesque is maintained with great skill the imagery is descriptive and the verse smooth showing that the author might had he chosen have produced something in a very different strain to Hudibras though of less excellence He perhaps knew the true bent of his genius and probably felt a contempt for the easy smoothness and pretty feebleness of his contemporaries of whom Waller and Denham were the two most striking examples

And wanting nothing but a song,¹ 165
 And a well tuned theorbo² hung
 Upon a bough to ease the pain
 His tugg'd ears suffer'd with a strain³
 They both drew up to march in quest
 Of his great leader and the rest 170
 For Orsin who was more renown'd
 For stout maintaining of his ground
 In standing fights than for pursuit,
 As being not so quick of foot,
 Was not long able to keep pace 175
 With others that pursu'd the chase,
 But found himself left far behind
 Both out of heart and out of wind,
 Griev'd to behold his bear pursu'd
 So basely by a multitude 180
 And like to fall not by the prowess,
 But numbers of his coward foes
 He rag'd and kept as heavy a coil as
 Stout Hercules for loss of Hylas,⁴
 Forcing the vallyes to repeat 185
 The accents of his sad regret
 He beat his breast and tore his hair
 For loss of his dear crony bear,
 That Echo from the hollow ground,⁵
 His doleful wailings did resound 190

¹ The ancients believed that Music had the power of curing hemorrhages gout sciatica and all sorts of sprains when once the patient found himself capable of listening to it Thus Homer, *Odyssey*, book xix line 534 of Pope

² A large lute for playing a thorough bass, used by the Italians

³ In Grey's edition it is thus pointed

His tugg'd ears suffer'd with a strain
 They both drew up—

But the poet probably meant a well tuned theorbo, to ease the pain with a strain, that is with music and a song

⁴ Hercules when he bewails the loss of Hylas See Val Flac Argon iii 593 and Theocritus *Idyl* xii 58

⁵ A fine satire (says Grey) on that false kind of wit which makes an Echo talk sensibly and give rational answers Echoes were frequently introduced by the ancient poets (*Ovid Metam* iii 379 *Anthol Gr* iii 6 &c), and had become a fashion in England from the Elizabethan era to the time when Butler wrote Addison, see *Spectator* 59, reproves this, as he calls it, "silly

More wistfully by many times,
 Than in small poets splay foot rhymes,¹
 That make her in their ruthless stories
 To answer to intergatories
 And most unconscionably depose 195
 To things of which she nothing knows
 And when she has said all she can say,
 Tis wrested to the lover's fancy
 Quoth he O whither wicked Bruin,
 Art thou fled to my—Echo *ruin* 200
 I thought thou hadst scorn'd to budge a tep,
 For fear Quoth Echo *Marry guep*
 Am not I here to take thy part?
 Then what has quail'd thy stubborn heart?
 Have these bones rattled and this head 205
 So often in thy quirel bled?
 Nor did I ever wince or grudge it
 For thy dear sake Quoth she *Mum budget*³
 Thinks thou wilt not be laid in th' dish⁴
 Thou turn'st thy back? Quoth Echo *Pish* 210
 To run from those thou hadst overcome
 Thus cowardly? Quoth Echo *Mum*
 But what a vengeance makes thee fly
 From me too as thine enemy?

kind of device and cites Erasmus's Dialogues where an Echo is made to answer in Latin Greek and Hebrew But all the ancient Echoes are outdone by the Irish Echo which in answer to How do you do Paddy Blake² echoed Pretty well thank you

¹ Supposed to be a sneer at Sir Philip Sidney who in his Arcadia has a long poem between the speaker and Echo

² An exclamation or small oath having no particular import apparently the origin of our *Marry come up* It is used by Taylor the Water Poet Ben Jonson and Gayton in his Translation of Don Quixote

³ That is be silent in allusion to what Shakspeare puts into the mouth of Master Slander I come to her in white and cry *mum* she cries *bud get* and by that we know one another —Merry Wives Act v sc 2

⁴ To lay in one's dish to make an accusation against one to lay a charge at one's door

Last night you *lay it* madam in our dish
 How that a maid of ours (whom we must check)
 Had broke your bitch's leg

Sir John Harrington, Epigr 1 27

Or, if thou hast no thought of me, 215
 Nor what I have endur'd for thee,
 Yet shame and honour might prevail
 To keep thee thus from turning tail
 For who would grutch to spend his blood in
 His honour's cause? Quoth she *a Pudd'n* 220
 This said, his grief to anger turn'd,
 Which in his manly stomach burn'd,
 Thirst of revenge, and wrath in place
 Of sorrow now began to blaze
 He vow'd the authors of his woe 225
 Should equal vengeance undergo,
 And with their bones and flesh pay dear
 For what he suffer'd and his bear
 This being resolv'd with equal speed
 And rage, he hasted to proceed 230
 To action straight and giving o'er
 To search for Bruin any more,
 He went in quest of Hudibras,
 To find him out, where'er he was
 And if he were above ground vow'd 235
 He'd ferret him, lurk where he wou'd
 But scarce had he a furlong on
 This resolute adventure gone
 When he encounter'd with that crew
 Whom Hudibras did late subdue 240
 Honour, re-venge, contempt and shame
 Did equally their breasts inflame
 'Mong these the fierce Magnano was,
 And Talgol, true to Hudibras
 Cerdon and Colon warriors stout, 245
 And resolute, as ever fought,
 Whom furious Orsin thus bespoke
 Shall we quith he, thus basely brook
 The vile affront that paltry ass,
 And feeble scoundrel Hudibras, 250
 With that more paltry ragamuffin,
 Ralpho with vapouring and huffing,
 Have put upon us like tame cattle,
 As if th' had routed us in battle?

For my part, it shall ne'er be said 205
 I for the washing gave my head ¹
 Nor did I turn my back for fear
 O th' rascals but loss of my bear,²
 Which now I m like to undergo
 For whether these fell wounds, or no, 260
 He has received in fight are mortal
 Is more than all my skill can foretel,
 Nor do I know what is become
 Of him more than the Pope of Rome ³
 But if I can but find them out 265
 That caused it, as I shall no doubt
 Where er th in hugger mugger lurk ⁴
 I ll make them rue their handiwork
 And wish that they had rather dar d
 To pull the devil by the beard ⁵ 270
 Quoth Cerdon noble Orsin th hast
 Great reason to do as thou say st,
 And so has ev rybody here
 As well as thou hast or thy bear
 Others may do as they see good 275
 But if this twig be made of wood
 That will hold tack I 'll make the fur
 Fly bout the ears of the old cur,

¹ That is behaved cowardly or surrendered at discretion jeering obliquely perhaps at the anabaptistical notions of Ralpho Hooker or Vowler in his description of Exeter written about 1584 speaking of the parson of St Thomas who was hanged during the siege says he was a stout man who would not give his head for the polling nor his beard for the washing Grey gives the following quotation from Beaumont and Fletcher *Cupid's Revenge* Act iv *1st Citizen* It holds he d's this morning *2nd Citizen* Then happy man be his fortune *1st Citizen* And so am I and forty more good fellows that will not *give their heads for the washing*

² *Var* Of them but losing of my bear In all editions between 1674 and 1704

³ This common saying is a sneer at the Pope's infallibility

⁴ The confusion or want of order occasioned by haste and secrecy

—and we have done but greenly
 In *hugger mugger* to inter him

Hamlet iv 5 See also Wright's Glossary

⁵ A proverbial expression used for any bold or daring enterprise so we say To take a lion by the beard The Spaniards deemed it the most unpardonable of affronts to be pulled by the beard, and would resent it at the hazard of life

And th' other mongrel vermin Ralph,
 That brav'd us all in his behalf 280
 Thy bear is safe and out of perill
 Tho' lugg'd indeed and wounded very ill,
 Myself and Trulla made a shift
 To help him out at a dead lift
 And having brought him bravely off 285
 Have left him where he's safe enough
 There let him rest for if we stay
 The slaves may hap to get away
 This said they all engag'd to join
 Their forces in the same design 290
 And forthwith put themselves in search
 Of Hudibras, upon their march
 Where leave we them awhile to tell
 What the victorious Knight befell
 For such Crowders being fast 295
 In dungeon shut we left him last
 Triumphant laurels seem'd to grow
 Nowhere so green as on his brow
 Laden with which as well as tu'd
 With conqu'ring toil he now retir'd 300
 Unto a neighbouring castle by,
 To rest his body and apply
 Fit medicines to each glorious bruise
 He got in fight reds, blacks, and blues
 To mollify th' uneasy pang 305
 Of every honourable bang
 Which bring by skilful midwife drest,
 He laid him down to take his rest
 But all in vain he had got a hurt
 O th' inside of a deadlier sort, 310
 By Cupid made, who took his stand
 Upon a widow's jointure land,¹

¹ The widow is presumed by Grey to be Mrs Tomson who had a jointure of £200 a year. The courtship appears to be a fact dressed up by Butler's humour (although the editor of 1819 thinks it apocryphal) from Walker's History of Independency i p 170. We learn that Sir Samuel Luke to repair his decayed estate sighed for the widow's jointure but met with fatal obstacles in his suit for she was a mere coquet and what was worse as regarded her suitor's principles she was a royalist. Her inexorableness says Mr Walker, was eventually the cause of the knight's death.

For he in all his amorous battles
 No advantage finds like goods and chattels
 Drew home his bow and aiming right 310
 Let fly an arrow at the Knight
 The shot against a lion did glance
 And gall him in the putterance ¹
 But time had somewhat swaged his pain
 After he had found his suit in vain 320
 For that proud dame for whom his soul
 Was burnt in his belly like a coal,
 That belly that so oft did rile
 And suffer griping for her sale
 Till purging comits and ants eggs 330
 Had almost brought him off his leg —
 Used him so like a base miscreant
 That old *Pyg*—what do you call him—*malion*
 That cut his mistresses out of stone ³
 Had not so hard a hearted one 330
 She had a thousand jadish tricks
 Worse than a mule that flings and kicks
 Among which one cross grain'd freak she had
 As insolent as strange and mad
 She could love none but only such 335
 As scorn'd and hated her as much ⁴
 'Twas a strange riddle of a lady
 Not love if any lov'd her ⁵ hey day ¹⁵
 So cowards never use their might
 But against such as will not fight 340

¹ A ludicrous name for the knight's heart taken from a calf's head and putterance as it is vulgarly call'd instead of appurtenance (or pluck) which among other entrails contains the heart. The word used in the same sense in the Bible. See Exodus xii 9

² Ants eggs were formerly supposed by some to be antiprodisiacs or antidotes to love passions. See Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft b vi ch 7

³ *Pygmalion* as the mythologists say fell in love with a statue of his own carving which Venus to gratify him turned into a living woman. See Ovid's *Metamorphoses* lib x l 247

⁴ Such capricious kind of love is described by Horace *Satires* book i li 105

⁵ So in the edition of 1678 in others it is ha day but either may stand, as they both signify a mark of admiration. See Skinner and Junius

So some diseases have been found
 Only to seize upon the sound ¹
 He that gets her by herit must save her
 The back way like a witch's prayer ²
 Meanwhile the Knight had no small task 340
 To compass what he durst not ask
 He loves but dares not make the motion
 Her ignorance is his devotion ³
 Like catiff vile that for misdeed
 Rides with his face to rump of steed, ⁴ 350
 On rowing scull he is fain to love
 Look one way and another move
 On like a tumbler that does play
 His game and look another way, ⁵
 Until he seize upon the coney 355
 Just so does he by matrimony

¹ It is common for horses as well as men to be afflicted with sciatica or rheumatism to a great degree for weeks together and when they once get clear of the fit never perhaps hear any more of it while they live for the cure is temporary with some others called salutary distempers seldom or never seize upon an un-sound body. Blacken's Fanny improved in 46. The meaning then from vol. 338 is this is the widow loved none that were disposed to love her so cowardly fight with none that are disposed to fight with them so some diseases seize upon none that are already distempered but upon those only who through the firmness of their constitution seem least liable to such attacks.

That is the Lord's Prayer read backwards. The Spectator No. 61 speaking of an epigram called the *Witch's Prayer* says it fell into verse whether read backwards or forwards excepting only that it cursed one way and blessed the other. See Spectator No. 110 117 upon Witchcraft.

² A banter on the Papists who denying to the laity the use of the Bible or Prayer book in the vulgar tongue are charged with asserting that ignorance is the mother of devotion. The wit here is in making the widow's ignorance of his love the cause of the Knight's devotion.

⁴ Dr Grey supposes this may allude to five members of the army who on the 6th of March 1648 were forced to ride in New Palace yard with their faces towards their horses tails had their swords broken over their heads and were cashiered for petitioning the Rump for relief of the oppressed commonwealth.

⁵ A dog called by the Latins *Vertagus* that rolls himself in a heap and tumbles over disguising his shape and motion till he is near enough to his object to seize it by a sudden spring. The tumbler was generally used in hunting rabbits. See Caius de Canibus Britannicis (Kay on English Dogs, sm 4to Lond 1676) and Martial lib. xiv Epig. 200.

But all in vain her subtle snout
 Did quickly wind his meaning out
 Which she return'd with too much scorn,
 To be by man of honour borne 360
 Yet much he bore until the distress
 He suffer'd from his spiteful mistress
 Did stir his stomach and the pain
 He had endur'd from her disdain
 Turn'd to regret so resolute 365
 That he resolv'd to wave his suit
 And either to renounce her quite
 Or for a while play least in sight
 This resolution being put on
 He kept some months and more had done 370
 But being brought so nigh by fate
 The victory he achiev'd so late
 Did set his thoughts agog and ope
 A door to discontinu'd hope¹
 That seem'd to promise he might win 375
 His dame too, now his hand was in
 And that his valour and the honour
 He had newly gain'd might work upon her
 These reasons made his mouth to water,
 With am'rous longings to be at her 380
 Thought he unto himself who knows
 But this brave conquest o'er my foes
 May reach her heart and make that stoop
 As I but now have forc'd the troop?²
 If nothing can oppugne love³ 385
 And virtue invious⁴ ways can prove
 What may not he confide to do
 That brings both love and virtue too?²
 But thou bring'st valour too and wit,
 Two things that seldom fail to hit 390
 Valour's a mouse trap wit a gin,
 Which women oft are taken in⁴

¹ One of the canting phrases used by the sectaries when they entered on any new mischief

² Read oppugne, as three syllables to make the line of sufficient length

³ That is impassable See Horace, III 2

⁴ Assuming that women are often captivated by a red coat or a copy of verses

Then Hudibras, why shouldst thou fear
 To be that art a conqueror?¹
 Fortune the audacious doth *juvare*,¹ 395
 But lets the timidous² miscarry
 Then while the honour thou hast got
 Is spick and span new piping hot³
 Strike her up bravely thou hadst best,
 And trust thy fortune with the rest 400
 Such thoughts as these the Knight did keep
 More than his bangs or fleas from sleep,
 And as an owl, that in a barn
 Sees a mouse creeping in the corn
 Sits still, and shuts his round blue eyes 405
 As if he slept until he spies
 The little beast within his reach
 Then starts and seizes on the wretch
 So from his couch the Knight did start,
 To seize upon the widow's heart, 410
 Crying with hasty tone and hoarse,
 Ralpho dispatch to horse to horse!¹
 And 'twas but time for now the rout
 We left engag'd to seek him out,
 By speedy marches were advanc'd 415
 Up to the fort where he ensconced,
 And all the avenues possess'd
 About the place from east to west
 That done awhile they made a halt,
 To view the ground, and where to assault 420
 Then call'd a council which was best
 By siege, or onslaught, to invest
 The enemy and 'twas agreed
 By storm and onslaught to proceed
 Thus being resolv'd, in comely sort 425
 They now drew up to attack the fort,

¹ Alluding to the familiar quotation, *Fortes Fortuna adjuvat*, "Fortune favours the bold"

² *Timidous* from *timidus* the hero being in a latinizing humour

³ Spick and span is derived by Dr Grey from *spike* which signifies a nail of iron, as well as a nail in measure and *span*, which is a measure of nine inches, or quarter of a yard. This applied to a new suit means that it has just been measured by the nail and span. Ray gives a different derivation, see Bohn's Handbook of Proverbs, page 178

When H^udibras about to enter
 Upon another gates adventure,¹
 To Ralpho call'd aloud to arm,
 Not dreaming of approaching storm 430
 Whether dame Fortune or the care
 Of angel bad, or tutelar,
 Did arm or thrust him on a danger
 To which he was an utter stranger
 That foresight might or might not, blot 435
 The glory he had newly got
 Or to his shame it might be said
 They took him napping in his bed
 To them we leave it to expound,
 That deal in sciences profound 440
 His courser scarce he had bestrid
 And Ralpho that on which he rid
 When setting ope the postern gate
 Which they thought best to sally at²
 The foe appear'd drawn up and drill'd, 445
 Ready to charge them in the field
 Thus somewhat startled the bold Knight,
 Surpris'd with th' unexpected sight
 The bruises of his bones and flesh
 He thought began to smart afresh, 450
 Till recollecting wonted courage
 His fear was soon converted to rage
 And thus he spoke The coward foe,
 Whom we but now gave quarter to
 Look yonder sally'd and appears 455
 As if they had outrun their fears,
 The glory we did lately get
 The Fates command us to repeat,³

¹ That is an adventure of another kind so Sanderson p 47 thus sermon ad clerum 'If we be of the spirituality there should be in us another gates manifestation of the spirit The Americans in conformity with a prevailing form might read it another guess

² Variation in editions 1674 to 1704—

To take the field and sally at

³ This is exactly in the style of victorious leaders Thus Hannibal encouraged his men "These are the same Romans whom you have beaten so often And Octavius addressed his soldiers at Actium 'It is the same

And to their wills we must succumb,
Quocunque trahunt tis our doom 460
 This is the same numeric crew
 Which we so lately did subdue
 The self same individuals that
 Did run as mice do from a cat
 When we courageously did wield 465
 Our martial weapons in the field,
 To tug for victory and when
 We shall our shining blades agen
 Brandish in terror o'er our heads,
 They'll straight resume their wonted dreads 470
 Fear is an ague, that forsakes
 And haunts by fits those whom it takes,¹
 And they'll opine they feel the pain
 And blows they felt to day, again
 Then let us boldly charge them home, 475
 And make no doubt to overcome
 This said his courage to inflame,
 He call'd upon his mistress name,²
 His pistol next he cock'd anew
 And out his nut brown whinyard drew,³ 480
 And placing Ralpho in the front
 Reserv'd himself to bear the brunt
 As expert warriors use, then ply'd,
 With iron heel his courser's side,
 Conveying sympathetic speed 485
 From heel of Knight to heel of steed
 Meanwhile the foe, with equal rage
 And speed advancing to engage,
 Both parties now were drawn so close,
 Almost to come to handy blows 490
 When Orsin first let fly a stone
 At Ralpho, not so huge a one

Antony whom you once drove out of the field before Mutina. Be as you have been conquerors. And so too Napoleon on several occasions

¹ *Var* Haunts by turns, in the editions of 1663

² A hit at the old Romances of Knight errantry. In like manner Cervantes makes Don Quixote invoke his Dulcinea upon almost every occasion

³ Whinyard signifies a sword. it is chiefly used in contempt or banter. Johnson derives it from *whim* furze so whinnard, the short scythe or instrument with which country people cut whims

As that which Diomed did maul
 Æneas on the bum withal ¹
 Yet big enough if rightly hurl'd 495
 T' have sent him to another world
 Whether above ground or below
 Which saints twice dipt are destin'd to
 The danger startled the bold Squire
 And made him some few steps retire 500
 But Hudibras advanc'd to aid
 And rous'd his spirits half dismay'd
 He wisely doubting lest the shot
 O th' enemy now growing hot
 Might at a distance gall press'd close 505
 To come pell mell to handy blows
 And that he might their aim decline
 Advanc'd still in an oblique line
 But prudently forbore to fire
 Till breast to breast he had got nigher ³ 510
 As expert warriors use to do
 When hand to hand they charge their foe
 This order the advent'rous Knight
 Most soldier-like observ'd in fight
 When Fortune as she's wont turn'd fickle 515
 And for the foe began to stickle
 The more shame for her Goodyship
 To give so near a friend the slip
 For Colon choosing out a stone
 Levell'd so right it thump'd upon 520
 His manly paunch with such a force
 As almost beat him off his horse
 He loos'd his whinyard ⁴ and the rein
 But laying fast hold on the mane
 Preserv'd his seat and as a goose 525
 In death contracts his talons close

¹ See *Iliad* v 304 *Virgil* *Æn* I 101 *Juvenal* *Sat* xv 65

² Meaning the Anabaptists who thought they obtained a higher degree of sanctification by being re-baptized

³ Alluding to Cromwell's prudent conduct in this respect who seldom suffered his soldiers to fire till they were near enough to the enemy to be sure of doing execution

⁴ *Var* He lost his whinyard

So did the Knight, and with one claw
 The trigger of his pistol draw
 The gun went off, and as it was
 Still fatal to stout Hudibras 530
 In all his feats of arms when least
 He dreamt of it to prosper best
 So now he far d the shot let fly,
 At random mong the enemy
 Pierced Talgol's gaberdine¹ and grazing 535
 Upon his shoulder in the passing
 Lodg'd in Magnano's brass habergeon²
 Who straight A surgeon¹ cried—a surgeon!
 He tumbled down and, as he fell
 Did murder' murder' murder' yell 540
 This startled their whole body so
 That if the Knight had not let go
 His arms but been in warlike plight
 H' had won the second time the fight,
 As, if the Squire had but fall'n on, 545
 He had inevitably done
 But he diverted with the care
 Of Hudibras his wound³ forbore
 To press th advantage of his fortune,
 While danger did the rest dishearten 550
 For he with Cerdon being engag'd
 In close encounter they both wag'd
 The fight so well twas hard to say
 Which side was like to get the day
 And now the busy work of death 555
 Had tir'd them so they greed to breathe,
 Preparing to renew the fight,
 When th hard disaster of the knight,
 And th other party did divert
 Their fell intent and forc'd them part⁴ 560
 Ralpho press'd up to Hudibras
 And Cerdon where Magnano was,

¹ A coarse robe or mantle the term is used by Shylock in the Merchant of Venice Act I sc 3

² Habergeon a diminutive of the French word hauberg, a little coat of mail But here it signifies the tinker's budget

³ Var Hudibras, his hurt ⁴ Var And force their sullen rage to part

Each striving to confirm his party
 With stout encouragements and hearty
 Quoth Ralpho, Courage vahanant Sir, 560
 And let revenge and honour stir
 Your spirits up, once more fall on,
 The shatter'd foe begins to run
 For if but half so well you knew
 To use your victory as subdue¹ 570
 They durst not after such a blow
 As you have given them face us now
 But from so formidable a soldier
 Had fled like crows when they smell powder²
 Thrice have they seen your sword aloft 575
 Wave'd o'er their heads and fled as oft
 But if you let them recollect
 Their spirits now dismay'd and check'd
 You'll have a harder game to play
 Than yet you have had to get the day 580
 Thus spoke the stout Squire but was heard
 By Hudibras with small regard
 His thoughts were fuller of the bang
 He lately took than Ralph's harangue
 To which he answer'd Cruel fate 585
 Tells me thy counsel comes too late
 The clotted blood³ within my hose
 That from my wounded body flows,
 With mortal crisis doth portend
 My days to appropinque an end⁴ 590
 I am for action now unfit
 Either of fortitude or wit
 Fortune my foe begins to frown
 Resolv'd to pull my stomach down

¹ This perhaps has some reference to Prince Rupert who, at Marston Moor and on some other occasions was successful at his first onset by charging with great fury but lost his advantage by too long a pursuit See Echard vol. ii p. 480

² This belief still prevails in all rural districts Plot in his Natural History of Oxfordshire says If the crows towards harvest time are mischievous the farmers dig holes near the corn and fill them with cinders and gunpowder sticking crow feathers about them which they find successful

³ *Var* The knotted blood

⁴ One of the knight's hard words, signifying to approach, or draw near

I am not apt, upon a wound, 595
 Or trivial basting, to despond,
 Yet I d be loath my days to curta'l,
 For if I thought my wounds not mortal,
 Or that we d time enough as yet
 To make an honourable retreat 600
 Twere the best course but if they find
 We fly, and leave our arms behind
 For them to seize on the dishonour,
 And danger too, is such, I ll sooner
 Stand to it boldly, and take quarter, 605
 To let them see I am no starter
 In all the trade of war no feat
 Is nobler than a brave retreat
 For those that run away and fly,
 Take place at least o th enemy¹ 610
 This said the Squire with active speed,
 Dismounted from his bony² steed
 To seize the arms which by mischance
 Fell from the bold Knight in a trance
 These being found out and restor d 615
 To Hudibras their natural lord
 As a man may say,³ with might and main,
 He hasted to get up again⁴

¹ These two lines were not in the first editions of 1663 but added in 1674 This same notion is repeated in part iii canto iii 241—244 But the celebrated lines of similar import commonly supposed to be in Hudibras

"For he that fights and runs away
 May live to fight another day

are found in the *Musarum Deliciae* (by Sir Jno Mennis and James Smith) 12mo Lond 1656 and the type of them occurs in a much earlier collection viz The *Apophthegmes* of Erasmus by Nico Udall, 12mo, Lond 1542 where they are thus given

That same man that renneth awaie
 Maie again fight, an other daie

² In some editions it is *bonny*, but I prefer *bony*, which is the reading of 1678 — *Nash*

³ A sneer at the expletives then used in common conversation such as and he said, and she said, and so su d ye see &c See *Spectator*, 371

⁴ *Var* The active Squire with might and main,
 Prepar d in haste to mount again

Thrice he essay d to mount aloft
 But by his weighty bum as oft 620
 He was pull d back till having found
 Th advantage of the rising ground
 Thither he led his warlike steed
 Ard having plac d him right with speed
 Prepar d again to scale the beast 625
 When Orsin who had newly drest
 The bloody scar upon the shoulder
 Of Talgol, with Promethean powder ¹
 And now was searching for the shot
 That laid Magnano on the spot 630
 Beheld the sturdy Squire aforesaid
 Preparing to climb up his horse side,
 He left his cure and laying hold
 Upon his arms with courage bold
 Cry d out Tis now no time to dally, 635
 The enemy begin to rally
 Let us that are unhurt and whole
 Fall on and happy man be s dole ²
 This said like to a thunderbolt
 He flew with fury to th assault 640
 Striving the enemy to attack
 Before he reach d his horse's back
 Ralpho was mounted now and gotten
 O erthwart his beast with active van ting, 645
 Wriggling his body to recover
 His seat and cast his right leg over
 When Orsin rushing in bestow d
 On horse and man so heavy a load,
 The beast was startled and begun
 To kick and fling like mad and run, 650
 Bearing the tough Squire like a sack,
 Or stout king Richard, on his back ³

¹ See canto II ver 225 —Prometheus boasts especially of communicating to mankind the knowledge of medicines Æschyl's Prometh Vinc't v 491

A common saying repeatedly occurring in Shakspeare and the old poets equivalent to,— 'May it be his lot (dole) to be a happy man'

³ After the battle of Bosworth Field where Richard III fell his body was stripped and, in an ignominious manner, laid across a horse's back like a slaughtered deer his head and arms hanging on one side, and his legs on the other, besmeared with blood and dirt

'Till stumbling, he threw him down,¹
 Sore bruise d and cast into a swoon
 Meanwhile the Knight began to rouse 650
 The sparkles of his wonted prowess,
 He thrust his hand into his hose
 And found, both by his eyes and nose,
 'Twas only choler² and not blood
 That from his wounded body flow d 660
 This with the hazard of the Squire,
 Inflam d him with despightful ire,
 Courageously he fac d about
 And drew his other pistol out,
 And now had half way bent the cock, 665
 When Cerdon gave so fierce a shock,
 With sturdy truncheon thwart his arm,
 That down it fell and did no harm
 Then stoutly pressing on with speed,
 Essay d to pull him off his steed 670
 The Knight his sword had only left,
 With which he Cerdon s head had cleft,
 Or at the least cropt off a limb
 But Orsin came and rescu d him
 He with his lance attack d the Knight 675
 Upon his quarters opposite
 But as a bark, that in foul weather
 Toss d by two adverse winds together,
 Is bruise d and beaten to and fro
 And knows not which to turn him to 680
 So far d the Knight between two foes
 And knew not which of them t oppose,
 'Till Orsin charging with his lance
 At Hudibras by spiteful chance
 Hit Cerdon such a bang as stunn d 685
 And laid him flat upon the ground
 At this the Knight began to cheer up,
 And raising up himself on stirrup,
 Cry d out 'Victoria' lie thou there,
 And I shall straight dispatch another, 690

¹ We must here read *stumble ing* to make three syllables

² The delicate reader will easily guess what is here intended by the word *choler*

To bear thee company in death
 But first I'll halt awhile and breathe
 As well he might for Orsin griev'd
 At th' wound that Cerdon had receiv'd,
 Ran to relieve him with his lore 690
 And cure the hurt he made before
 Meanwhile the Knight had wheel'd about
 To breathe himself and next find out
 Th' advantage of the ground where best
 He might the ruffled foe infest 700
 This being resolv'd he spur'd his steed,
 To run at Orsin with full speed
 While he was busy in the care
 Of Cerdon's wound and unaware
 But he was quick and had already 705
 Unto the part apply'd remedy
 And seeing th' enemy prepar'd
 Drew up and stood upon his guard
 Then, like a warrior right expert
 And skilful in the martial art 710
 The subtle Knight straight made a halt,
 And judg'd it best to stay th' assault,
 Until he had reliev'd the Squire,
 And then in order to retire
 Or as occasion should invite, 715
 With forces join'd renew the fight
 Ralpho by this time disentranc'd,
 Upon his bum himself advanc'd
 Though sorely bruis'd, his limbs all o'er
 With ruthless bangs were stiff and sore 720
 Right fain he would have got upon
 His feet again to get him gone
 When Hudibras to aid him came
 Quoth he and call'd him by his name
 Courage the day at length is ours, 725
 And we once more as conquerors
 Have both the field and honour won
 The foe is profligate,² and run,

¹ A parody on a phrase continually recurring in Homer

² That is, routed from the Latin *profugo*, to put to flight

I mean all such as can for some
 This hand hath sent to their long home , 730
 And some he sprawling on the ground,
 With many a gash and bloody wound
 Cæsar himself could never say,
 He got two victories in a day
 As I have done, that can say twice I 735
 In one day *Veni vidi vici*¹
 The foes so numerous that we
 Cannot so often *vincere*,²
 And they *perire*, and yet enow
 Be left to strike an after blow 740
 Then, lest they rally, and once more
 Put us to fight the business o'er
 Get up and mount thy steed, dispatch,
 And let us both their motions watch
 Quoth Ralph I should not, if I were 745
 In case for action now be here
 Nor have I turn'd my back or hang'd
 An arse for fear of being bang'd
 It was for you I got these harms,
 Advent'ring to fetch off your arms 750
 The blows and drubs I have receiv'd
 Have bruised my body and bereav'd
 My limbs of strength unless you stoop,
 And reach your hand to pull me up
 I shall lie here and be a prey 755
 To those who now are run away
 That thou shalt not, quoth Hudibras
 We read the ancients held it was
 More honourable far *servare*
Civem, than slay an adversary, 760
 The one we oft to day have done,
 The other shall dispatch anon

¹ I came I saw I overcame the words in which Cæsar announced to the Senate his victory over Pharnaces In his consequent triumph at Rome they were inscribed on a tablet and carried before him

² A great general being informed that his enemies were very numerous replied then there are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away

And tho' th' art of a different church,
 I will not leave thee in the lurch ¹
 This said he jogg'd his good steed nigher 765
 And steer'd him gently toward the Squire,
 Then bowing down his body stretch'd
 His hand out and at Ralpho reach'd
 When Trulla whom he did not mind,
 Charg'd him like lightning behind 770
 She had been long in search about
 Magnano's wound to find it out
 But could find none nor where the shot
 That had so startled him was got
 But having found the worst was past 775
 She fell to her own work at last
 The pillage of the prisoners
 Which in all feats of arms was hers
 And now to plunder Ralph she flew
 When Hudibras his hard fate drew 780
 To succour him for as he bow'd
 To help him up she laid a load
 Of blows so heavy and plac'd so well
 On th' other side that down he fell
 Yield scoundrel base quoth she or die, 785
 Thy life is mine and liberty
 But if thou think'st I took thee tardy,
 And da'st presume to be so hardy
 To try thy fortune o'er afresh
 I'll waive my title to thy flesh 790
 Thy arms and baggage now my right ²
 And if thou hast the heart to try't
 I'll lend thee back thyself awhile
 And once more for that carcase vile
 Fight upon tick — Quoth Hudibras 795
 Thou offer'st nobly valiant lass
 And I shall take thee at thy word
 First let me rise and take my sword,

¹ This is a sneer at the Independents who when they got possession of the government deserted their old allies the Presbyterians and treated them with great hauteur

² The application of the law of arms as expounded in the old immunities to this case is exquisitely ludicrous

That sword, which has so oft this day
 Through squadrons of my foes made way, 800
 And some to other worlds dispatch d
 Now with a feeble spinster match d
 Will blush with blood ignoble stain d,
 By which no honour s to be gain d
 But if thou lt take m advice in this, 805
 Consider while thou may st what tis
 To interrupt a victor s course
 B opposing such a trivial force
 For if with conquest I come off
 And that I shall do sure enough, 810
 Quarter thou canst not have nor grace,¹
 By law of arms in such a case,
 Both which I now do offer freely
 I scorn quoth she, thou coxcomb silly
 Clapping her hand upon her breech, 815
 To show how much she priz d his speech,
 Quar'er or counsel from a foe
 If thou canst force me to it do
 But lest it should again be said,
 When I have once more won thy head, 820
 I took thee napping unprepar d
 Arm and betake thee to thy guard
 This said she to her tackle fell,
 And on the Knight let fall a peal
 Of blows so fierce and prest so home, 825
 That he retir d and follow d s bum -
 Stand to t quoth she or yield to mercy,
 It is not fighting arsie versie²

¹ L Estrange records a parallel to this at the siege of Pontefract. An officer having had his horse shot under him saw two or three common soldiers with their muskets over him as he lay on the ground, ready to beat out his brains the officer with great presence of mind, told them to strike at their peril for if they did he swore a great oath he would not give quarter to a man of them. This so surprised them that they hesitated for an instant during which the officer got up and made his escape.

That is, wrong end uppermost, or b——e foremost. So Ray, quoting Ben Jonson, has —

Passion of me was ever man thus cross d?

All things run arsi vearsi, upside down

See Handbook of Proverbs, p 148

Shall serve thy turn — This stirr'd his spleen
 More than the danger he was in 830
 The blows he felt or was to feel
 Although th' already made him reel
 Honour despight, revenge, and shame,
 At once into his stomach came,
 Which fir'd it so he rais'd his arm 835
 Above his head and rain'd a storm
 Of blows so terrible and thick,
 As if he meant to hash her quick
 But she upon her truncheon took them,
 And by oblique diversion broke them, 840
 Waiting an opportunity
 To pay all back with usury
 Which long she fail'd not of for now
 The Knight with one dead doing blow,
 Resolving to decide the fight, 845
 And she with quick and cunning shght
 Avoiding it the force and weight
 He charg'd upon it was so great
 As almost sway'd him to the ground
 No sooner she th' advantage found, 850
 But in she flew and seconding
 With home made thrust the heavy swing,
 She laid him flat upon his side
 And mounting on his trunk astride
 Quoth she I told thee what would come 855
 Of all thy vapouring base scum
 Say will the law of arms allow¹
 I may have grace and quarter now?
 Or wilt thou rather break thy word
 And stain thine honour than thy sword? 860
 A man of war to damn his soul,
 In basely breaking his parole

¹ Instead of this and the nine following lines (857 to 866), these four stood in the two first editions of 1663

Shall I have quarter now you ruffin?
 Or wilt thou be worse than thy huffing?
 Thou saidst thou wouldst kill me marry wouldst thou
 Why dost thou not, thou Jack a nodd thou?

And when before the fight, th' hadst vow'd
 To give no quarter in cold blood,
 Now thou hast got me for a Tartar,¹ 865
 To make m against my will take quarter
 Why dost not put me to the sword
 But cowardly fly from thy woid?
 Quoth Hudibras The day s thine own,
 Thou and thy stars have cast me down 870
 My laurels are transplanted now
 And flourish on thy conqu ring brow
 My loss of honour s great enough
 Thou need st not brand it with a scoff
 Sarcasms may eclipse thine own 875
 But cannot blur my lost renown
 I am not now in fortune's power,
 He that is down can fall no lower.²
 The ancient heroes were illustr ous
 For being benign and not blust rous 880
 Against a vanquish d foe their swords
 Where sharp and trenchant not their words
 And did in fight but cut work out
 T employ their courtesies about.³
 Quoth she Altho thou hast deserv'd, 885
 Base Slubberdegullion⁴ to be serv d
 As thou didst vow to deal with me,
 If thou hadst got the victory,
 Yet I should rather act a part
 That suits my fame than thy desert 890

¹ The Tartars (says Purchas in his *Pilgrimes* p 478) would rather die than yield which makes them fight with desperate energy whence the proverb Thou hast caught a Tartar — A man catches a Tartar when he falls into his own trap, or having a design upon another is caught himself

Help help cries one I have caught a Tartar Bring him along an swers his comrade He will not come says he Then come without him Quoth the other But he will not let me says the Tartar catcher

² A literal translation of the proverb Qui jacet in terra non habet unde cadat

³ See Cleveland in his letter to the Protector 'The most renowned heroes have ever with such tenderness cherished their captives, that their swords did but cut out work for their courtesies

⁴ That is a drivelling fool to slubber in British is to drivel and gul, or its diminutive gullion a fool or person easily imposed upon The word is used by Taylor the Water Poet, in his 'Laugh and grow fat

Thy arms thy liberty beside
 All that's on th' outside of thy hide,
 Are mine by military law¹
 Of which I will not bate one straw
 The rest thy life and limbs once more 8 10
 Though doubly forfeit I restore
 Quoth Hudibras It is too late
 For me to treat or stipulate
 What thou command'st I must obey
 Yet those whom I expugn'd to day 9 10
 Of thine own party I let go
 And gave them life and freedom too
 Both dogs and bear upon their parol
 Whom I took prisoners in this quarrel
 Quoth Trulla Whether thou or they 9 00
 Let one another run away
 Concerns not me but was't not thou
 That gave Crowdero quarter too?
 Crowdero whom in irons bound
 Thou basely threw'st into Lob's pound?² 9 10
 Where still he lies and with regret
 His generous bowels rage and flet
 But now thy carcass shall redeem
 And serve to be exchange'd for him
 This said the Knight did straight submit 9 10
 And laid his weapons at her feet
 Next he disrob'd his gaberdine
 And with it did himself resign
 She took it and forthwith divesting
 The mantle that she wore said jesting 9 0
 Take that and wear it for my sake
 Then threw it o'er his sturdy back

¹ In public duels all horses' pieces of broken armour or other furniture that fell to the ground after the combatants entered the lists were the full of the marshal but the rest became the property of the victor

A cant term for a jail or the stocks used by the old Dramatists See Massinger's Duke of Milan III 2 — Dr Grey mentions a story of Mr Job a preacher among the dissenters who when their meetings were prohibited contrived a trap door in his pulpit which led through many dark windings into a cellar His adversaries once pursued him into these recesses and groping about in perplexity one of them said that they had got into Job's pound

And as the French we conquer d once,
 Now give us laws for pantaloons,
 The length of breeches and the gathers 920
 Port cannons perriwigs and feathers¹
 Just so the proud insulting lass
 Array d and dightd Hudibras²
 Meanwhile the other champions, yerst³
 In hurry of the fight dispeist 930
 ✓ Arriv d when Trulla d won the day
 To share in th honour and the prey,
 And out of Hudibras his hide
 With vengeance to be satisfy d,
 Which now they were about to pour 935
 Upon him in a wooden show r
 But Trulla thrust herself between,
 And striding o er his back agen
 She brandish d o er her head his sword
 And vow d they should not break her word, 940
 Sh had given him quarter and her blood
 Or theirs should make that quarter good
 For she was bound by law of arms
 To see him safe from further harms
 In dungeon deep Crowdero cast 945
 By Hudibras as yet lay fast
 Where to the hard and ruthless stones,
 His great heart made perpetual moans,

¹ We seem at no time to have been averse to the French fashions but they were quite the rage after the Restoration. Pantaloons were then a kind of loose breeches commonly made of silk, and puffed which covered the legs thighs and part of the body. They are represented in some of Van dyke's pictures. Port cannons were streamers of ribands which hung from the knees of the short breeches they had grown to such excess in France that Moliere was thought to have done good service by laughing them out of fashion. Perriwigs were brought from France in the reign of Elizabeth but were not much used till after the Restoration. At first they were of various colours to suit the complexion and of immense size in large flowing curls as we see on monuments in Westminster Abbey and in old portraits. Lord Bolingbroke is said to be the first who tied them up in knots which was esteemed so great an undress that when his lordship first went to court in a wig of this fashion Queen Anne was offended and said to those about her: "This man will come to me next court day in his night cap."

² Dightd from the Anglo Saxon *dichtan* to dress, fit out

³ Yerst, or erst, means first

Him she resolv'd that Hudibras	
Should ransom and supply his place	360
This stopp'd their fury, and the basting	
Which toward Hudibras was hasting	
They thought it was but just and right,	
That what she had achiev'd in fight	
She should dispose of how she pleas'd,	365
Crowdero ought to be releas'd	
Nor could that any way be done	
So well as this she pitch'd upon	
For who a better could imagine?	
This therefore they resolv'd to engage in	370
The Knight and Squire first they made	
Rise from the ground where they were laid	
Then mounted both upon their horses	
But with their faces to the arses	
Orsin led Hudibras's beast	375
And Talgol that which Ralpho prest	
Whom stout Magnano valiant Cerdon,	
And Colon waited as a guard on	
All ushering Trulla in the rear	
With th' arms of either prisoner	380
In this proud order and array	
They put themselves upon their way	
Striving to reach th' enchanted Castle,	
Where stout Crowdero in durance lay still	
Thither with greater speed than shows	385
And triumph over conquer'd foes	
Do use to allow or than the bears	
Or pageants borne before lord mayors ¹	
Are wont to use they soon arriv'd	
In order soldier like contriv'd	390
Still marching in a warlike posture	
As fit for battle as for muster	
The Knight and Squire they first unhorse	
And bending gaunt the fort their force,	
They all advanc'd and round about	395
Begirt the magical redoubt	

¹ I believe at the lord mayor's show bears were led in procession and afterwards baited for the diversion of the populace — *Nash*

Magnan led up in this adventure,
 And made way for the rest to enter
 For he was skilful in black art ¹
 No less than he that built the fort 990
 And with an iron mace laid flat
 A breach which straight all enter d at
 And in the wooden dungeon found
 Crowdero laid upon the ground
 Him they release from durance base, 995
 Restored t his fiddle and his case,
 And liberty his thirsty rage
 With luscious veng ance to assuage ,
 For he no sooner was at large,
 But Trulla straight brought on the charge, 1000
 And in the self same limbo put
 The Knight and Squire where he was shut ,
 Where leaving them i th wretched hole,²
 Their bangs and durance to condole,
 Confin d and conjur d into narrow 1005
 Enchanted mansion to know sorrow,
 In the same order and array
 Which they advanc d they march d away
 But Hudibras who scorn d to stoop
 To fortune or be said to droop 1010
 Cheer d up himself with ends of verse,
 And sayings of philosophers
 Quoth he Th one half of man his mind,
 Is *sui juris* unconfined ³
 And cannot be laid by the heels, 1015
 Whate er the other moiety feels

¹ Meaning the tinker Magnano See Canto ii l 336

In the edition of 1704 it is printed *in Hockly hole* a pun on the place where their hocks or ankles were confined Hockley Hole or Hockley i th Hole was the name of a place near Clerkenwell Green resorted to for vulgar diversions There is an old ballad entitled Hockley i th hole to the tune of the Fiddler in the Stocks See Old Ballads vol i p 294

³ Referring to that distinction in the civil law which separates the jurisdiction over the body from that over the mind (see Justinian's Institutes III tit 8)—and perhaps to Spinoza who says that knowledge makes u free by destroying the dominion of the passions and the power of external things over ourselves In the succeeding lines the author shows his learning by bantering the stoic philosophy and his wit, by comparing Alexander the Great with Diogenes

'Tis not restraint, or liberty,
 That makes men prisoners or free,
 But perturbations that possess
 The mind, or equanimities 1020
 The whole world was not half so wide
 To Alexander when he cry'd,
 Because he had but one to subdue¹
 As was a paltry narrow tub to
 Diogenes who is not said 1030
 For aught that ever I could read,
 To whine put finger in th' eye and sob,
 Because he had ne'er another tub
 The ancients make two several kinds
 Of prowess in heroic minds, 1035
 The active and the passive valiant,
 Both which are *pari libra* gallant
 For both to give blows and to carry
 In fights are equal necessary
 But in defeats the passive stout 1040
 Are always found to stand it out
 Most desperately, and to out do
 The active against a conquering foe
 Tho' we with blacks and blues are sagg'd,²
 Or as the vulgar say are cudgell'd, 1045
 He that is valiant, and dares fight
 Though drubb'd, can lose no honour by't
 Honour's a lease for lives to come,
 And cannot be extended from
 The legal tenant 'tis a chattel 1050
 Not to be forfeited in battel
 If he that in the field is slain
 Be in the bed of honour lain³
 He that is beaten may be said
 To lie in honour's truckle bed⁴ 1055

¹ See Juven. Sat. x. 168. xiv. 308

² Beaten black and blue from the Latin *sagillare*

³ 'The bed of honour' says Farquhar (in the Recruiting Officer) is a mighty large bed. Ten thousand people may lie in it together and never feel one another

⁴ The truckle bed is a small bed upon wheels which goes under the larger one. The pun is upon the word "truckle"

For as we see th' eclipsed sun
 By mortals is more gaz'd upon
 Than when adorn'd with all his light,
 He shines in serene sky most bright,
 So valour in a low estate 1055
 Is most admir'd and wonder'd at
 Quoth Ralph How great I do not know
 We may by being beaten grow
 But none that see how here we sit,
 Will judge us overgrown with wit 1060
 As gifted brethren preaching by
 A carnal hour glass¹ do imply
 Illumination can convey
 Into them what they have to say
 But not how much so well enough 1065
 Know you to charge but not draw off
 For who without a cap and bauble,²
 Having subdu'd a bear and rabble
 And might with honour have come off,
 Would put it to a second proof 1070
 A politic exploit right fit
 For Presbyterian zeal and wit³
 Quoth Hudibras That cuckoo's tone,
 Ralpho thou always harp'st upon
 When thou at anything would'st rail, 1075
 Thou mak'st presbytery thy scale

¹ In those days there was always an hour glass placed conspicuously on or near the pulpit in an iron frame which was set immediately after giving out the text. An hour or the sand run out was considered the legitimate length of a sermon. This preaching by the hour gave rise to an abundance of jokes of which the following are examples. A tedious spin text having tired out his congregation by a sermon which had lasted through one turn of his glass and three parts of the second without any prospect of its coming to a close was out of compassion to the yawning auditory greeted with this short hint by the sexton. Pray Sir be pleas'd when you have done to leave the key under the door and thereupon departing the congregation followed him. Another A punning preacher having talked a full hour turned his hour glass and said Come my friends let us take another glass. Who but one who deserves a fool's cap

³ Ralpho being chagrined by his situation not only blames the misconduct of the Knight which had brought them into the sciape but sneers at him for his religious principles. The Independents at one time were as inveterate against the Presbyterians as both were against the Church

To take the height on t and explain
 To what degree it is profane
 Whats ever will not with thy—what d ye call
 Thy light—jump right, thou call st synodical 1080
 As if presbytery were a standard
 To size whats ever s to be slander d
 Dost not remember how this day
 Thou to my beard was bold to say
 That thou could st prove bear bairting equal 1085
 With synods orthodox and legal ?
 Do if thou can st for I deny t
 And dare thee to t with all thy light ¹
 Quoth Ralpho Truly that is no
 Hard matter for a man to do 1090
 That has but any guts in s brains ²
 And could believe it worth his pains
 But since you dare and urge me to it
 You'll find I ve light enough to do it
 Synods are mystical bear gardens 1095
 Where elders deputies church wardens
 And other members of the court
 Manage the Babylonish sport
 For prolocutor scribe and bearward -
 Do differ only in a mere word 1100
 Both are but sev ral synagogues
 Of carnal men and bears and dogs
 Both antichristian assemblies
 To mischief bent as far s in them lies
 Both stave and tail with fierce contests, 1105
 The one with men the other beasts
 The diff rence is the one fights with
 The tongue the other with the teeth
 And that they bait but bears in this
 In th other souls and consciences 1110

¹ The Independents were great pretenders to inward light for such they assumed to be the light of the spirit They supposed that all their actions as well as their prayers and preachings were immediately directed by it

² A proverbial expression for one who has some share of common sense used by Sancho Pança to Don Quixote (Gayton's Translation) upon his mistaking the barber's bason for a helmet See Ray in Handbook of Proverbs, p 163

Where saints themselves are brought to stake¹
 For gospel light and conscience sake,
 Expos'd to scribes and presbyters,
 Instead of mastiff dogs and curs
 Than whom th' have less humanity, 1115
 For these at souls of men will fly
 This to the prophet did appear,
 Who in a vision saw a bear,
 Prefiguring the beastly rage
 Of church rule in this latter age² 1120
 As is demonstrated at full
 By him that baited the pope's bull³
 Bears naturally are beasts of prey,
 That live by rapine, so do they
 What are their orders constitutions, 1125
 Church censures curses absolutions,
 But several mystic chains they make,
 To tie poor Christians to the stake⁴
 And then set heathen officers
 Instead of dogs, about their ears 1130
 For to prohibit and dispense
 To find out or to make offence,
 Of hell and heav'n to dispose,
 To play with souls at fast and loose,
 To set what characters they please, 1135
 And mulcts on sin or godliness,
 Reduce the church to gospel order,
 By rapine sacrilege, and murder,
 To make presbytery supreme,
 And kings themselves submit to them,⁴ 1140

¹ The Presbyterians, when in power, by means of their synods, assemblies, classes scribes presbyters triers orders, censures curses &c &c, persecuted the ministers both of the Independents and of the Church of England with violence and cruelty little short of the Inquisition

² Daniel vii 5 'And behold another beast, a second like to a bear and it raised up itself on one side and it had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh

³ The Baiting of the Pope's Bull was the title of a polemic pamphlet written against the Pope, by Henry Burton, rector of St Matthew, Friday street, London 1627

⁴ The Disciplinaryans, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, maintained in

And force all people, tho' against
 Their consciences, to turn saints
 Must prove a pretty thriving trade,
 When saints monopolists are made
 When pious frauds and holy shifts, 1145
 Are dispensations and gifts
 There godliness becomes mere ware,
 And ev'ry synod but a fair
 Synods are whelps o' th' Inquisition,
 A mungrel breed of like pernicious¹ 1155
 And growing up, became the sires
 Of scribes commissioners and triers,²

their book called Ecclesiastical Discipline that kings ought to be subject to ecclesiastical censures as well as other persons This doctrine was revived by the Presbyterian and actually put in practice by the Scots in their treatment of Charles II The Presbyterians in the civil war maintained that princes must submit their sceptres and throw down their crowns before the church 'vea lick the dust off the feet of the church' and Buchanan in his famous *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* asserted that 'ministers may excommunicate princes and that they being by excommunication cast into hell are not worthy to enjoy any life upon earth'

¹ The word *pernicious* appears to have been coined by our author from the Latin *perniciēs*, and means destructive effect It is given in *Webster's Dictionary*

² The Presbyterians had a set of officers called *Triers* commissioned by the two houses who examined candidates for orders and presentees to benefices and sifted the qualifications of ruling elders in every congregation See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* As the Presbyterians demanded of the Church of England 'What command or example have you for kneeling at the communion for wearing a surplice for lord bishops for a penned liturgy &c &c' so the Independents retorted upon them 'Where are your lay elders your presbyters your classes your synods to be found in Scripture?' where your steeple houses and your national church or your tithes or your metre psalms or your two sacraments show us a command or example for them See Dr Hammond's *View of the Diocese of London* The learned Dr Pocock was called before the *Triers* for ignorance and insufficiency of learning and after an attendance of several months was acquitted and then not on his own merits but on the remonstrance of a deputation of the most learned men of Oxford including Dr Owen who was of their own party This is confirmed by Dr Owen in a letter to Secretary Thurloe 'One thing says he I must needs trouble you with there are in Berkshire some men of mean quality and condition, rash heady enemies of tythes who are the commissioners for ejecting ministers they alone sit and act and are at this time casting out on very slight and trivial pretences very worthy men one in special they intend next week to eject whose name is Pocock a man of as unblameable a conversation as any that I know living and of repute for learning throughout the world, being the

Whose bus ness is, by cunning slight,
 To cast a figure for men s light ,
 To find in lines of beard and face 1150
 The physiognomy of grace ¹
 And by the sound and twang of nose,
 If all be sound within disclose
 Free from a crack or flaw of sinning
 As men try pipkins by the ringing ² 1160
 By black caps underlaid with white ³
 Give certain guess at inward light
 Which serjeants at the gospel wear ⁴
 To make the sp ritual calling clear
 The handkerchief about the neck 1165
 —Canonical cravat of smeck ⁵

professor of Hebrew and Arabic in our University so that they exceedingly exasperate all men and provoke them to the height

¹ The Triers pretended to great skill in this respect and if they disliked the face or beard of a man if he happened to be of a ruddy complexion or cheerful countenance they would reject him at once Their questions were such as these When were you converted? Where did you begin to feel the motions of the Spirit? In what year? In what month? On what day? About what hour of the day had you the secret call or motion of the Spirit to undertake and labour in the ministry &c &c And they would try whether he had the true whining voice and nasal twang Dr South, in his Sermon says they were most properly called Cromwell s Inquisition, and that, as the chief pretence of those Triers was to inquire into men s gifts if they found them well gifted in the hand they never looked any further

The reader (says Nash) may be inclined to think the dispute between the Knight and the Squire rather too long But if he considers that the great object of the poem was to expose to scorn and contempt those sectaries and pretenders to extraordinary sanctity who had overturned the constitution in Church and State he will not wonder that the author indulges himself in this fine train of wit and humour

² They judged of men s inward grace by his outward complexion Dr Echard says If a man had but a little blood in his cheeks his condition was accounted very dangerous, and it was almost an infallible sign of reprobation and I will assure you, he adds ' a very honest man of a very sanguine complexion if he chance to come by an officious zealot s house, might be put in the stocks for only looking fresh in a frosty morning

³ Many persons particularly the dissenters in our poet s time were fond of wearing black caps lined with white See the print of Baxter, and others

⁴ A black coif worn on the head, is the badge of a serjeant at law

⁵ A club or junto which wrote several books against the king consisting of five Parliamentary holders forth namely Stephen Marshall Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow, the

From whom the institution came
 When Church and State they set on flame,
 And worn by them as badges then
 Of spiritual wai'faring men — 1170
 Judge rightly if regeneration
 Be of the newest cut in fashion
 Sure 'tis an orthodox opinion
 That grace is founded in dominion¹
 Great piety consists in pride 1175
 To rule is to be sanctified
 To domineer and to control
 Both o'er the body and the soul
 Is the most perfect discipline
 Of church rule and by right divine 1180
 Bell and the Dragon's chaplains were
 More moderate than those by far²
 For they poor knaves were glad to cheat
 To get their wives and children meat
 But these will not be fob'd off so 1185
 They must have wealth and power too
 Or else with blood and desolation
 They'll tear it out o' th' heart o' th' nation
 Sure these themselves from primitive
 And heathen priesthood do derive 1190

initials of their names make the word *Smectymnus* and by way of distinction they wore handkerchiefs about their necks which afterwards degenerated into carnal cravats. Hall bishop of Exeter presented a humble remonstrance to the high court of parliament in behalf of liturgy and episcopacy which was answered by the junto under the title of *The Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy* discussed by *SMECTYMNUS* (See John Milton's *Apology for Smectymnus*). They are remarkable also for another book *The King's Cabinet unlocked* in which all the chaste and endearing expressions in letters that passed between Charles I. and his Queen are by their painful labours in the Devil's vineyard turned into ridicule.

¹ The Presbyterians held that those only who possessed grace were entitled to power

² The priests their wives and children fasted upon the provisions offered to the idol and pretended that he had devoured them. See the *Apocrypha* *Bel and the Dragon* v. 15. The great gorballed idol called the *Assembly of Divines* (says Overton in his arraignment of Persecution) is not ashamed in this time of state necessity to guzzle down and devour daily more of an ordinary meal than would make a feast for Bell and the Dragon for besides their fat benefices forsooth, they must have their four shillings a day for setting in constollidation

When butchers were the only clerks,¹
 Elders and presbyters of kirks,
 Whose Directory was to kill
 And some believe it is so still ²
 The only difference is that then 1195
 They slaughter'd only beasts now men
 For them to sacrifice a bullock
 Or now and then a child to Moloch
 They count a vile abomination
 But not to slaughter a whole nation 1200
 Presbytery does but translate
 The papacy to a free state,³
 A commonwealth of popery,
 Where ev'ry village is a see
 As well as Rome and must maintain 1205
 A tithe pig metropolitan
 Where ev'ry presbyter and deacon
 Commands the keys for cheese and bacon
 And ev'ry hamlet's governed
 By s holiness the church's head ⁵ 1210

¹ Both in the Heathen and Jewish sacrifices the animal was slaughtered by the priests

² A banter on the Directory or form of service drawn up by the Presbyterians and substituted for the Common Prayer

³ The resemblance between Papacy and Presbytery which is here implied is amusingly set forth by Dean Swift, in his Tale of a Tub, under the names of Peter and Jack

⁴ Alluding to the well known influence which dissenting ministers of all sects and denominations exercise over the purses of the female part of their flocks. As an illustration Grey gives the following anecdote. Daniel Burgess dining with a gentlewoman of his congregation and a large uncut Cheshire cheese being brought to table he asked where he should cut it. She replied, where you please Mr Burgess. Upon which he ordered the servant in waiting to carry it to his own house, for he would cut it there.

⁵ The gentlemen of Cheshire sent a remonstrance to the parliament wherein they complained that instead of having twenty six bishops, they were then governed by a numerous presbytery, amounting, with lay elders and others to 40 000. This government, say they, is purely papal for every minister exercises papal jurisdiction. Dr Grey quotes from Sir John Birkenhead revived

But never look for health nor peace
 If once presbytery jade us,
 When every priest becomes a pope,
 When tinkers and sow gelders
 May, if they can but scape the rope,
 Be princes and lay elders

More haughty and severe in's place
 Than Gregory and Boniface ¹
 Such church must surely be a monster
 With many heads for if we conster ²
 What in th Apocalypse we find, 121b
 According to th Apostle's mind,
 'Tis that the Whore of Babylon
 With many heads did ride upon, ³
 Which heads denote the sinful tribe
 Of deacon priest, lay elder scribe 122b
 Lay elder Simeon to Levi ⁴
 Whose little finger is as heavy
 As loins of patriarchs prince prelate
 And bishop secular ⁵ This zealot
 Is of a mungrel diverse kind, 123
 Cleric before and lay behind ⁶
 A lawless linsey woolsey brother ⁷
 Half of one order, half another

¹ Two most insolent and assuming popes who endeavoured to raise the tithes above all the crowned heads in Christendom Gregory VII elected 1073 the son of a Smith and commonly called Hildebrand was the first pontiff who arrogated to himself the authority to excommunicate and depose the emperor Boniface VIII elected 1294, one of the most haughty ambitious and tyrannical men that ever filled the papal chair at the jubilee instituted by himself appeared one day in the habit of a pope and the next in that of an emperor and caused two swords to be carried before him to show that he was invested with all power ecclesiastical and temporal Walsingham says that he crept into the papacy like a fox and died like a lion and died like a dog

Meaning construe

² The Church of Rome has often been compared to the whore of Babylon The beast which the whore rode upon is here said to signify the Presbyterian establishment and the seven or many heads of the beast are interpreted by the poet to mean their several officers deacons priests scribes lay elders &c

³ That is lay elder an associate to the priesthood for interested if not for iniquitous purposes Alluding to Genesis xlv 5 6 Simeon and Levi are brethren instruments of cruelty are in their habitations O my soul come not thou into their secret unto their assembly mine honour, be not thou united for in their anger they slew a man

⁴ Such were formerly several of the bishops in Germany

⁵ Sir Roger L Estange in his key to Hudibras tells us that one Andrew Crawford a Scotch preacher is here intended others say William Dunning a Scotch presbyter of a turbulent and restless spirit diligent in promoting the cause of the kirk But probably the author meant no more than to give a general picture of the lay elders

⁶ It was forbidden by the Levitical law to wear a mixture of linen and woollen in the same garment

A creature of amphibious nature,
 On land a beast a fish in water 1230
 That always preys on grace or sin,
 A sheep without, a wolf within
 This fierce inquisitor has chief
 Dominion over men's belief
 And manners can pronounce a saint 1235
 Idolatrous, or ignorant
 When superciliously he sifts,
 Through coarsest bolter, others' gifts¹
 For all men live and judge amiss,
 Whose talents jump not just with his 1240
 He'll lay on gifts with hand, and place
 On dullest noddle light and grace,
 The manufacture of the kirk,
 Whose pastors are but th' handiwork
 Of his mechanic paws instilling 1245
 Divinity in them by feeling
 From whence they start up chosen vessels
 Made by contact as men get measles
 So cardinals they say do grope
 At th' other end the new made pope² 1250
 Hold hold quoth Hudibras soft fire
 They say does make sweet malt Good Squire
Festina lente not too fast
 For haste the proverb says makes waste
 The quirks and cavils thou dost make 1255
 Are false and built upon mistake
 And I shall bring you with your pack
 Of fallacies t' Elenchi back,³
 And put your arguments in mood
 And figure to be understood 1260
 I'll force you by right ratiocination
 To leave your vitiligation⁴

¹ A bolter is a coarse sieve for separating bran from flour

This alludes to the stercorary chair used at the installations of some of the popes and which being perforated at the bottom has given rise to the assertion that to prevent the recurrence of a Pope Joan, the Pontiff elect is always examined through it by the youngest deacon

³ Elenchi are arguments which deceive under an appearance of truth The *Elenchus* says Aldrich is properly a syllogism which refutes an opponent by establishing that which contradicts his opinion

⁴ That is a perverse humour of wrangling, or contentious litigation

And make you keep to the question close,
And argue dialecticos ¹

The question then to state it first, 1260

Is which is better, or which worst,

Synods or bears Bears I avow

To be the worst, and synock thou

But, to make good th' assertion

Thou sayst th' are really all one 1270

If so, not worst, for if th' are *idem*,²

Why then, *tantundem dat tantundem*

For if they are the same, by course

Neither is better neither worse

But I deny they are the same, 1280

More than a maggot and I am

That both are *animalia* ³

I grant but not *rationalia*

For though they do agree in kind,

Specific difference we find ⁴ 1280

And can no more make bears of these

Than prove my horse is Socrates ⁵

That synods are bear gardens too,

Thou dost affirm but I say, No

And thus I prove it in a word, 1280

Whats ever assembly's not impow'r'd

To censure curse absolve, and ordain

Can be no synod but bear garden

¹ That is dialectically or logically

² These are technical terms of school logic

³ Suppose (says Nash) to make out the metre we read

That both *indeed* are *animalia*

The editor of 1819 proposes to read *of them* in place of *indeed* But it was probably intended in the next line to ellipse *rationalia* into *rat nalia* (pronounced rashnalia)

⁴ Between animate and inanimate things as between a man and a tree there is a generic difference that is one in kind between rational and sensitive creatures as a man and a bear there is a specific difference for though they agree in the genus of animals or living creatures yet they differ in the species as to reason Between two men Plato and Socrates there is a numerical difference for though they are of the same species as rational creatures yet they are not one and the same, but two men See Part II Canto 1 l 150

⁵ Or that my horse is a man Aristotle, in his disputations uses the word Socrates as an appellative for a man in general from him it was taken up in the schools.

' Has no such power ergo tis none ,
 And so thy sophistry s o erthrowne 1290
 But yet we are beside the question
 Which thou didst raise the first contest on
 For that was Whether bears are better
 Than synod men ? I say Negatur
 That bears are beasts and synods men, 1290
 Is held by all they re better then,
 For bears and dogs on four legs go
 As beasts but synod men on two
 'Tis true they all have teeth and nails
 But prove that synod men have tails 1300
 Or that a rugged shaggy fur
 Grows o er the hide of presbyter
 Or that his snout and spacous eais
 Do hold proportion with a beas
 A beas a savage beast of all 1300
 Most ugly and unnatural,
 Whelp'd without form until the dam
 Has lickt it into shape and frame ¹
 But all thy light can ne er evict
 That ever synod man was lickt, 1310
 Or brought to any other fashion
 Than his own will and inclination
 But thou dost further yet in this
 Oppugn thyself and sense that is,
 Thou would st have presbyters to go 1310
 For bears and dogs, and bearwards too
 A strange chimæra ² of beasts and men,
 Made up of pieces het rogene ,
 Such as in nature never met,
In eodem subjecto yet 1320

¹ It was in Butler's time and long afterwards a popular notion that the cubs of the bear were mere lumps of flesh until fashioned by the tongue of their dam See Ovid's *Metam.* XV Pliny *Nat. Hist.* viii 36 (Bohn's Edit. vol. ii p. 305) It is alluded to in Pope's *Dunciad*, i 99, 100

So watchful Bruin forms with plastic care
 Each growing lump and brings it to a bear

² Alluding to the fable of Chimæra in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, book IX
 ———— and where Chimæra raves

On craggy rocks with lion's face and mane,
 A goat's rough body and a serpent's train

Described also by Homer, *Iliad*, vi 180

Thy other arguments are all
 Supposures hypothetical
 That do but beg and we may chuse
 Either to grant them or refuse
 Much thou hast said, which I know when, 1320
 And where thou stol'st from other men
 Whereby 'tis plain thy light and gifts
 Are all but plagiary shifts
 And is the same that Ranter said,
 Who arguing with me broke my head,¹ 1330
 And tore a handful of my beard
 The self same cavils then I heard
 When being in hot dispute about
 This controversy we fell out
 And what thou know'st I answer'd then 1335
 Will serve to answer thee again
 Quoth Ralpho Nothing but th' abuse
 Of human learning you produce
 Learning that cobweb of the brain
 Profane, erroneous and vain ² 1340

¹ The Ranters were a vile sect that denied all the doctrines of religion natural and revealed and believed sin and vice to be *the whole duty of man*. They held says Alexander Ross that God Devil Angels Heaven and Hell were fictions that Moses John the Baptist and Christ were impostors and that preaching was but public lying. With one of these the knight had entered into a dispute and at last came to blows. Whitelocke says that the oldiers in the parliament army were frequently punished for being Ranters.

² The Independents and Anabaptists were great enemies to all human learning they thought that preaching and everything else was to come by inspiration. Dr South says 'Latin unto them was a mortal crime and Greek looked upon as a sin against the Holy Ghost. All learning was then cried down so that with them the best preachers were such as could not read and the ablest divines such as could not write. In all their preachments they so highly pretended to the spirit that they hardly could spell the letter. We are told in the *Mercurius Rusticus* that the tinkers and tailors who governed Chelmsford at the beginning of the Rebellion asserted "that learning had always been an enemy to the gospel and that it would be a happy state if there were no universities and all books were burnt except the Bible. Their enmity to learning is well satirized by Shakspeare who makes Jack Cade say when he ordered Lord Say's head to be struck off 'I am the besom that must sweep the court clean of such filth as thou art. Thou has most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar school and where as, before our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tilly thou hast caused printing to be used and, contrary to the king, his crown

A trade of knowledge as replete
 As others are with fraud and cheat,
 An art to incumber gifts and wit,
 And render both for nothing fit
 Makes light unactive dull and troubled, 1340
 Like little David in Saul's doublet ¹
 A cheat that scholars put upon
 Other men's reason and their own
 A fort of error to ensconce
 Absurdity and ignorance 1350
 That renders all the avenues
 To truth impervious and abstruse
 By making plain things in debate
 By art perplex'd and intricate
 For nothing goes for sense or light 1355
 That will not with old rules jump right,
 As if rules were not in the schools
 Deriv'd from truth, but truth from rules ²
 This pagan heathenish invention
 Is good for nothing but contention 1360
 For as in sword and buckler fight
 All blows do on the target light
 So when men argue, the greatest part
 O th' contest falls on terms of art
 Until the fustian stuff be spent, 1365
 And then they fall to th' argument
 Quoth Hudibras Friend Ralph, thou hast
 Out-run the constable at last
 For thou art fallen on a new
 Dispute, as senseless as untrue 1370
 But to the former opposite
 And contrary as black to white

and dignity thou hast built a paper mill It will be proved to thy face
 that thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb, and
 such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear Henry VI
 Part II Act iv sc 7

¹ See 1 Samuel xvii 38

² Bishop Warburton in a note on these lines says "This observation is
 just the logicians have run into strange absurdities of this kind Peter
 Ramus the best of them in his Logic rejects a very just argument of Ci-
 cero's as sophistical, because it did not jump right with his rules

Mere *disparata*¹ that concerning
 Presbytery this human learning
 Two things s^e averse they never yet 1375
 But in thy rambling fancy met²
 But I shall take a fit occasion
 T^o evince thee by ratiocination
 Some other time in place more proper
 Than this w^h are in therefore let s^e stop here, 1380
 And rest our weary d bones awhile,
 Already tir d with other toil

¹ Things so different from each other that they cannot be compared

The Presbytery of those times had little learning among them though many made pretences to it but seeing all their boasted arguments and doctrines, whenever they differed from the Church of England controverted and baffled by the learned divines of that Church they found that without more learning they should not maintain their ground Therefore about the time of the Revolution they began to think it very necessary instead of Calvin's Institutes and a Dutch System or two to help them to arguments against Episcopacy to study more polite books It is certain that dissenting ministers since that time have both preached and written more learnedly and politely





ARGUMENT

The Knight being clapp'd by th' heels in prison,
 The last unhappy expedition ¹
 Love brings his action on the case ²
 And lays it upon Hudibras
 How he receives ³ the lady's visit,
 And cunningly solicits his suit
 Which she defers yet, on parole
 Redeems him from th' enchanted hole

¹ In the editions previous to 1674, the lines stand thus

The knight by damnable magician
 Being cast illegally in prison

² An action on the case is an action for redress of wrongs and injuries done without force and not specially provided against by law

³ The first editions read *revies*. To revie means to cover a sum put-down upon a hand at cards with a larger sum also to retort or recriminate. See Wright's Provincial Dictionary

PART II CANTO I

BUT now, t observe romantique method ¹
 Let bloody ² steel awhile be sheathed
 And all those harsh and rugged sounds ³
 Of bastinadoes cuts and wounds
 Exchang d to love s more gentle style,
 To let our reader breathe awhile ⁴
 In which that we may be as brief as
 Is possible by way of preface
 Is t not enough to make one strange ⁵
 That some men s fancies ⁶ should ne er change, 10
 But make all people do and say
 The same things still the self same way ?
 Some writers make all ladies purlouin d
 And knights pursuing like a whirlwind ⁷
 Others make all their knights in fits 15
 Of jealousy, to lose their wits ,

¹ The abrupt opening of this Canto is designed being in imitation of the commencement of the fourth book of the *Æneid*

"*At regina gravi jam dudum saucia cura &c*

² *Var* rusty steel in 1674—84, and *trusty* in 1700 Restored to *bloody* steel in 1704

³ In like manner Shakspeare Richard III Act 1 sc 1 says

"Our stern alarums chang d to merry meetings
 Our dreadful marches to delightful measures

For this and the three previous lines the first edition has

And unto love turn we our style
 To let our reader breathe awhile,
 By this time tir d with th horrid sounds
 Of blows, and cuts and blood and wounds

⁵ That is to make one wonder

⁶ *Var* That a man s fancy

⁷ Alluding probably, to Don Quixote s account of the enchanted Dulcineas, flying from him like a whirlwind, in Montesinos Cave

Till drawing blood o th dames, like witches,
 They re forthwith cur d of their capriches ¹
 Some always thrive in their amours,
 By pulling plasters off their sores, ² 20
 As cripples do to get an alms
 Just so do they and win their dames
 Some force whole regions in despite
 O geography to change their site,
 Make former times shake hands with latter 20
 And that which was before, come after ³
 But those that write in rhyme still make
 The one verse for the other s sake
 For one for sense and one for rhyme
 I think s sufficient at one time 30
 But we forget in what sad plight
 We whilom ⁴ left the captiv d Knight
 And pensive Squire both bruise d in body
 And conjur d into safe custody
 Tn d with dispute and speaking Latin 30
 As well as basting and bear baiting
 And desperate of any course
 To free himself by wit or force
 His only solace was that now
 His dog bolt ⁵ fortune was so low, 40

¹ It was a vulgar notion that if you drew blood from a witch she could not hurt you Thus Cleveland in his Rebel Scot

Scots are like witches do but whet your pen
 Scratch till the blood comes they ll not hurt you then

See also Shakspeare Henry VI Part I Act 1 sc 5

² By showing their wounds to the ladies, who, it must be remembered in the times of chivalry were instructed in surgery and the healing art In the romance of Perceforest, a young lady sets the dislocated arm of a knight

³ A banter on these common faults of romance writers even Shakspeare and Virgil have not wholly avoided them The former transports his characters in a quarter of an hour from France to England the latter has formed an intrigue between Dido and Æneas who probably lived in very distant periods The Spanish writers are rebuked for these violations of the unities in Don Quixote ch 21 where the canon speaks of having seen a play in which the first act begins in Europe the second in Asia and the third in Africa

⁴ Var Lately

⁵ In English dog in composition like *δύς* in Greek implies that the

That either it must quickly end
 Or turn about again and mend ¹
 In which he found the event no less
 Than other times beside his guess
 There is a tall long sided dame — ² 40
 But wond'rous light—ycleped Fame,
 That like a thin chameleon boards
 Herself on air ³ and eats her words ⁴
 Upon her shoulders wings she wears
 Like hanging sleeves lund thro' with ears 60
 And eyes, and tongues as poets list,
 Made good by deep mythologist
 With these she thro' the welkin flies ⁵
 And sometimes carries truth oft lies
 With letters hung like eastern pigeons, ⁶ 65
 And Mercuries of furthest regions

thing denoted by the noun annexed to it is vile bad savage or unfortunate in its kind thus dog rose dog latin dog trick, dog cheap and many others Wright in his Glossary explains *dog bolt* as a term of reproach, and gives quotation from Ben Jonson and Shadwell to that effect The happiest illustration of the text is afforded in Beaumont and Fletcher's Spanish Curate

' For to say truth the lawyer is a *dog bolt*
 An arrant worm

It was a maxim among the Stoic philosophers that things which were violent could not be lasting *Si longa est levis est si gravis est brevis est*

² Our author has evidently followed Virgil (*Æneid* iv) in some parts of this description of Fame

The vulgar notion is that chameleons live on air but they are known to feed on flies caterpillars and other insects See Brown's *Vulgar Errors* book i. ch 21

⁴ The beauty of this simile says Mr Warburton "consists in the double meaning the first alluding to Fame's living on report the second implying that a report if narrowly inquired into and traced up to the original author is made to contradict itself

⁵ Welkin is derived from the Anglo Saxon *wolc* wolen clouds, and is generally used by the English poets to denote the sky or visible region of the air

⁶ The pigeons of Aleppo served as couriers They were taken from their young ones and conveyed to distant places in open cages and when it became necessary to send home any intelligence one was let loose with a billet tied to her foot when she flew back with great swiftness They would return in less than ten hours from Alexandretto to Aleppo and in two days from Bagdad This method was practised at Mutina when besieged by Antony See Pliny's *Natural History* lib x 37

Diurnals writ for regulation
 Of lying, to inform the nation ¹
 And by their public use to bring down
 The rate of whetstones in the kingdom ² 60
 About her neck a packet mail
 Fraught with advice, some fresh some stale,
 Of men that walk'd when they were dead,
 And cows of monsters brought to bed ³
 Of hail stones big as pullets' eggs 65
 And puppies whelp'd with twice two legs ⁴
 A blazing star seen in the west,
 By six or seven men at least
 Two trumpets she does sound at once ⁵
 But both of clean contrary tones 70
 But whether both with the same wind,
 Or one before and one behind
 We know not only this can tell,
 The one sounds vilely th' other well,
 And therefore vulgar authors name 75
 Th' one Good, th' other Evil Fame

¹ The newspapers of those times called *Mercuries* and *Diurnals* were characterised by many of the contemporary writers as lying journals. Each party had its *Mercuries*; there was *Mercurius Rusticus* and *Mercurius Aulicus*.

² *Whetstone* is a proverbial term denoting an excitement to lying, or a subject that gave a man an opportunity of whetting his wit upon another. See Ray, in *Handbook of Proverbs* p. 60. Thus Shakspeare makes Celia reply to Rosalind upon the entry of the Clown: "Fortune hath sent this natural for our whetstone; for always the dulness of the fool is the whetstone of the wits." Lying for the whetstone appears to have been a jocular custom. In Lupton's: "Too good to be true" occur these lines: "*Omen*. And what shall he gain that gets the victory in lying? *Sylla*. He shall have a silver whetstone for his labours." See a full account in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (Bohn's edit.) vol. iii. p. 389—393.

³ Some stories of the kind are found in Morton's *History of Northamptonshire* p. 447. Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland* and *Philosophical Transactions* xxvi. p. 310.

⁴ To make this story as wonderful as the rest we ought to read thrice two, or twice four legs.

⁵ Chaucer makes *Æolus* an attendant on Fame blow the clarion of laud and the clarion of slander alternately according to her directions; and in Pope's *Temple of Fame* she has the trumpet of eternal praise and the trumpet of slander.

This tattling¹ gossip knew too well,
 What mischief Hudibras befell
 And straight the spiteful tidings bears,
 Of all, to th' unkind widow's ears 80
 Democritus ne'er laugh'd so loud²
 To see bawds carted through the crowd,
 Or funerals with stately pomp
 March slowly on in solemn dump
 As she laugh'd out, until her back, 85
 As well as sides was like to crack
 She vow'd she would go see the sight
 And visit the distressed Knight
 To do the office of a neighbour
 And be a gossip at his labour³ 90
 And from his wooden jail the stocks⁴
 To set at large his fetter locks
 And by exchange parole or ransom,
 To free him from th' enchanted mansion
 Thus being resolv'd she call'd for hood 95
 And usher implements abroad⁵
 Which ladies wear beside a slender
 Young waiting damsel to attend her
 All which appearing on she went
 To find the Knight in limbo pent 100
 And 'twas not long before she found
 Him, and his stout Squire in the pound,
 Both coupled in enchanted tether,
 By further leg behind together

¹ Var "Twatling gossip in the two first editions

² Democritus was the laughing philosopher. He regarded the common cares and pursuits of men as simply ridiculous, and ridiculed them accordingly

³ Gossip from God sib that is sib or related by means of religion a god father or sponsor at baptism

⁴ The original reading of this and the following line explains the meaning of the preceding one. In the two editions of 1664 they stand

That is to see him deliver'd safe
 Of a wooden burthen and Squire Ralph

⁵ Some have doubted whether the word *usher* means an attendant or part of her dress but from Part III, Canto II, line 399, it is plain that it signifies the former

For as he sat upon his rump 105
 His head like one in doleful dump ¹
 Between his knees, his hands applied
 Unto his ears on either side,
 And by him in another hole,
 Afflicted Ralpho cheek by jowl ² 110
 She came upon him in his wooden
 Magician's circle on the sudden,
 As spouts do to a conjurer
 When in their dreadful shapes they appear
 No sooner did the Knight perceive her, 115
 But straight he fell into a fever,
 Inflamed all over with disgrace,
 To be seen by her in such a place,
 Which made him hang his head, and scowl
 And wink and goggle like an owl, 120
 He felt his brains begin to swim,
 When thus the Dame accosted him
 This place quoth she they say's enchanted,
 And with delinquent spirits haunted
 That here are tied in chains and scourged, 125
 Until their guilty crimes be purged
 Look, there are two of them appear
 Like persons I have seen somewhere
 Some have mistaken blocks and posts
 For spectres apparitions, ghosts 130
 With saucer eyes and horns, and some
 Have heard the devil beat a drum ³
 But if our eyes are not false glasses,
 That give a wrong account of faces,
 That beard and I should be acquainted, 135
 Before 'twas conjured and enchanted
 For though it be disfigured somewhat,
 As if't had lately been in combat,

¹ See above Part I Canto II line 95, and note

² That is cheek to cheek derived from two Anglo Saxon words *ceac* and *ceole* See *jog by jowl* in Wright's Glossary

³ The story of Mr Mompesson's house being haunted by a drummer made a great noise about the time our author wrote The narrative is told in Glanvil on Witchcraft

It did belong t' a worthy Knight,
 Howe'er this goblin is come by t'
 When Hudibras the lady heard
 Discoursing thus upon his beard¹
 And speak with such respect and honour,
 Both of the beard and the beard's owner,²
 He thought it best to set as good
 A face upon it as he could
 And thus he spoke Lady, your bright
 And radiant eyes are in the right
 The beard's th' identique beard you knew,
 The same numerically true
 Nor is it worn by fiend or elf
 But its proprietor himself
 O heavens! quoth she can that be true?
 I do begin to fear tis you
 Not by your individual whislers
 But by you dialect and discourse
 That never spoke to man or beast
 In notions vulgarly exprest
 But what malignant star 'tis!
 Has brought you both to this sad pass?
 Quoth he The fortune of the war
 Which I am less afflicted for,

¹ *Var* To take kind notice of his beard The clergy in the middle ages threatened to excommunicate the Knights who persisted in wearing their beards because their clipped chins 'like stubble land at harvest home made them disagreeable to their ladies

² See the dignity of the beard maintained by Dr Bulwer in his *Artificial Changeling* p 196 He says shaving the chin is justly to be accounted a note of effeminacy as appears by eunuchs who produce not a beard the sign of virility Alexander and his officers did not shave their beards till they were effeminated by Persian luxury It was late before barbers were in request at Rome they first came from Sicily 454 years after the foundation of Rome Varro tells us they were introduced by Titinius Mena Scipio Africanus was the first who shaved his face every day the emperor Augustus used this practice See Pliny's *Nat Hist* b vii c 56 Diogenes seeing one with a smooth shaved chin said to him, 'Hast thou whereof to accuse nature for making thee a man and not a woman?' — The Rhodians and Byzantines contrary to the practice of modern Russians persisted against their laws and edicts in shaving and the use of the razor — Ulmus, in his *de fine barbae humanæ* is of opinion that nature gave to mankind a beard that it might remain as an index of the masculine generative faculty — Beard haters are by Barclay clapped on board the ship of fools

Than to be seen with beard and face
 By you in such a homely case ¹
 Quoth she Those need not be asham'd 165
 For being honourably maim'd,
 If he that is in battle conquer'd
 Have any title to his own beard,
 Tho' yours be sorely lugg'd and torn,
 It does your visage more adorn 170
 Than if 'twere prun'd and starch'd and lander'd ²
 And cut square by the Russian standard ³
 A torn beard's like a tatter'd ensign,
 That's bravest which there are most rents in
 That petticoat, about your shoulders, 175
 Does not so well become a soldier's
 And I'm afraid they are worse handled,
 Altho' I' th' rear your beard the van led,
 And those uneasy bruises make
 My heart for company to ache, 180
 To see so worshipful a friend
 I th' pillory set at the wrong end
 Quoth Hudibras This thing call'd pain,⁵
 Is as the learned Stoics maintain,
 Not bad *simpliciter* nor good 185
 But merely as 'tis understood

¹ Par "Elenctique case" in the first editions

² From the French word *lavandier* a washer Wright's Glossary

³ Peter the Great of Russia had great difficulty in obliging his subjects to cut off their beards and imposed a tax on them according to a given standard. The beaux in the reigns of James I and Charles I spent as much time in dressing their beards as modern beaux do in dressing their hair and many kept a person to read to him while the operation was performing. See John Taylor the water poet's *Superbæ Flagellum* (Works p 3) for a droll account of the fashions of the beard in his time. Bottom the weaver was a connoisseur in beards (*Mids Night's Dream*, Act 1 sc 2)

⁴ The van is the front or fore part of an army and commonly the post of danger and honour the rear the hinder part. So that making a front in the rear must be retreating from the enemy. By this comical expression the lady signifies that he turned tail on them by which means his shoulders fared worse than his beard.

⁵ Some tenets of the Stoic philosophers are here burlesqued with great humour

Sense is deceitful, and may feign
 As well in counterfeiting pain
 As other gross phenomenas
 In which it oft mistakes the case 190
 But since th immortal intellect
 That s free from error and defect,
 Whose objects still persist the same
 Is free from outward bruise or maim
 Which nought external can expose 195
 To gross material bangs or blows,
 It follows we can ne er be sure
 Whether we pain or not endure
 And just so far are sore and griev d,
 As by the fancy is believ d 200
 Some have been wounded with conceit,
 And died of mere opinion straight ¹
 Others tho wounded sore in reason
 Felt no contusion nor discretion ²
 A Saxon Duke did grow so fat, 205
 That mice as histories relate
 Ate grots and labyrinths to dwell in
 His postique parts without his feeling ³
 Then how is t possible a kick
 Should e er reach that way to the quick ⁴ 210
 Quoth she I grant it is in vain,
 For one that s basted to feel pain,

¹ That is died of fear Several stories to this effect are upon record one of the most remarkable is the case of the Chevalier Jarre 'who was upon the scaffold at Troyes had his hair cut off the handkerchief before his eyes and the sword in the executioner s hand to cut off his head but the king pardoned him being taken up his fear had so taken hold of him that he could not stand or speak they led him to bed and opened a vein, but no blood would come Lord Strafford s Letters vol 1 p 166

² According to the punctuation it signifies others though really and sorely wounded (see the Lady s Reply line 211) felt no bruise or cut but if we put a semicolon after sore and no stop after reason the meaning may be others though wounded sore in body yet in mind or imagination felt no bruise or cut Discretion here signifies a cut or separation of parts

³ He argues from this story that if a man could be so gnawed and man gled without feeling it a kick in the same place would not inflict much hurt The note in the old editions attributed to Butler himself cites the Rhine legend of Bishop Hatto, 'who was quite eaten up by rats and mice, as much more strange

Because the pangs his bones endure,
 Contribute nothing to the cure,
 Yet honour hurt is wont to rage 215
 With pain no medicine can assuage
 Quoth he, That honour's very squeamish
 That takes a basting for a blemish
 For what's more honourable than scars,
 Or skin to tatters rent in wars? 220
 Some have been beaten till they know
 What wood a cudgel's of by the blow
 Some kick'd until they can feel whether
 A shoe be Spanish or neat's leather
 And yet have met, after long running 225
 With some whom they have taught that cunning
 The furthest way about, to overcome
 I th' end does prove the nearest home
 By laws of learned duellists,
 They that are bruised with wood or fists, 230
 And think one beating may for once
 Suffice are cowards and poltroons
 But if they dare engage to a second,
 They're stout and gallant fellows reckon'd
 That old Romans freedom did bestow, 235
 Our princes worship with a blow¹
 King Pyrrhus cur'd his splenetic
 And testy courtiers with a kick²
 The Negus,³ when some mighty lord
 Or potentate's to be restor'd, 240

¹ One form of declaring a slave free, at Rome, was for the prætor in the presence of certain persons to give the slave a light stroke with a small stick from its use called *vincta*. See Horat Sat ii 7 75 and Persius v 88. Sometimes freedom was given by an *alapa* or blow with the open hand upon the face or head. Pers v 75, 78.

² Pyrrhus king of Epirus had this occult quality in his toe. It was believed he could cure the spleen by sacrificing a white cock, and with his right foot gently pressing the spleen of the person affected. Nor was any man so poor and inconsiderable as not to receive the benefit of his royal touch if he desired it. The toe of that foot was said to have so divine a virtue that after his death the rest of his body being consumed, it was found untouched by the fire. See Plutarch, Life of Pyrrhus, and Pliny's Nat Hist vol ii p 128 (Bohn).

³ Negus was the title of the king of Abyssinia.

And pardon d for some great offence,
 With which he s willing to dispense
 First has him laid upon his belly
 Then beaten back and side t a jelly ²
 That done he rises humbly bows 210
 And gives thanks for the princely blows
 Departs not meanly proud and boasting
 Of his magnificent rib roasting
 The beaten soldier proves most manful
 That like his sword endures the anvil 220
 And justly s held more formidable
 Tae more his valour s malleable
 But he that fears a bastinado
 Will run away from his own shadow ³
 And though I m now in durance fast 255
 By our own party basely cast ⁴
 Ransom exchange parole refus d
 And wiose than by the en my us d,
 In close *catasta* ⁵ shut past hope
 Of wit or valour to elope, 260
 As beards the nearer that they tend
 To th earth still grow more reverend
 And cannons shoot the higher pitches
 The lower we let down their breeches, ⁶
 I ll make this low dejected fate 265
 Advance me to a greater height
 Quoth she Y have almost made m in love
 With that which did my pity move

¹ In the editions of 1664 this and the following line read thus

"To his good grace for some offence
 Forfeit before and pardon d since

² This story is told in Le Blanc s Travels Part II ch 4

³ The fury of Bucephalus proceeded from the fear of his own shadow
 See Rabelais vol I c 14

⁴ This was the chief complaint of the Presbyterians and Parliamentary party when the Independents and the army ousted them from their misused supremacy and it led to their negotiations with the King, the r epousal of the cause of his son, and ultimately to his restoration as Char s the Second

⁵ A cage or prison wherein the Romans exposed slaves for sale See Persius vi 76

⁶ See note 2, p 39 *supra*

Great wits and valours, like great states,
 Do sometimes sink with their own weights ¹ 270
 Th extremes of glory and of shame,
 Like east and west become the same ²
 No Indian Prince has to his palace
 More followers than a thief to the gallows
 But if a beating seems so brave 275
 What glories must a whipping have ³
 Such great achievements cannot fail
 To cast salt on a woman s tail ³
 For if I thought your nat ral talent
 Of passive courage were so gallant 280
 As you strain hard to have it thought,
 I could grow amorous, and dote
 When Hudibras this language heard,
 He prick d up s ears and strok d his beard,
 Thought he, this is the lucky hour, 285
 Wines work when vines are in the flower
 This crisis then I ll set my rest on ⁵
 And put her boldly to the question
 Madam, What you would seem to doubt
 Shall be to all the world made out 290
 How I ve been drubb d, and wth what spirit
 And magnanimity I bear it
 And if you doubt it to be true,
 I ll stake myself down against you
 And if I fail in love or troth 295
 Be you the winner, and take both

¹ Thus Horace (Ep xvi) said that Rome was falling through the excess of its power

² That is glory and shame, which though opposite as east and west sometimes become the same exemplifying the proverb Extremes meet

³ Alluding to the common saying — You will catch the bird if you throw sal on his tail

⁴ A proverbial expression for the fairest and best opportunity of doing anything It was the common belief of brewers distillers of gin, and vinegar makers that their liquors fermented best when the plants used in them were in flower (See Sir Kenelm Digby s "Discourse concerning the Cure of Wounds by Sympathy" p 79) Hudibras compares himself to the vine in flower for he thinks he has set the widow fermenting

⁵ *Crisis* is used here in the classical sense of judgment or decision of a question

Quoth she, I ve heard old cunning stagers
 Say fools for arguments use wagers
 And though I prais d your valour yet
 I did not mean to baulk your wit, 300
 Which, if you have you must needs know
 What I have told you before now
 And you by experiment have prov d
 I cannot love where I m belov d
 Quoth Hudibras Tis a caprich ¹ 305
 Beyond the infliction of a witch
 So cheats to play with those still am,
 That do not understand the game
 Love in your heart as idly burns
 As fire in antique Roman urns ² 310
 To warm the dead and vainly light
 Those only that see nothing by t
 Have you not power to entertain,
 And render love for love again ²
 As no man can draw in his breath 315
 At once and force out air beneath
 Or do you love yourself so much
 To bear all rivals else a grutch ?
 What fate can lay a greater curse
 Than you upon yourself would force , 320
 For wedlock without love, some say ³
 Is but a lock without a key
 It is a kind of rape to marry
 One that neglects or cares not for ye

¹ Caprice is here pronounced in the manner of the Italian *capriccio*

² Fortunus Licetus wrote concerning these lamps and from him Bishop Wilkins quotes largely in his Mathematical Memoirs In Camden's Description of Yorkshire a lamp is said to have been found burning in the tomb of Constantius Chlorus The story of the lamp in the sepulchre of Tullia the daughter of Cicero which was supposed to have burnt above 1550 years is told by Pancirollus and others These so called perpetual lamps of the ancients were probably the spontaneous or accidental combustion of inflammable gases generated in close sepulchres or the phosphorescence exhibited by animal substances in a state of decomposition.

³ Thus Shakspeare 1 Henry VI Act v sc 5

For what is wedlock forced, but a hell
 An age of discord and continual strife

For what does make it ravishment 320
 But bing against the mind s consent ?
 A rape that is the more inhuman
 For being acted by a woman
 Why are you fair but to entice us
 To love you, that you may despise us ? 330
 But though you cannot love you say,
 Out of your own fantastic way¹
 Why should you not at least, allow
 Those that love you to do so too
 For as you fly me and pursue 335
 Love more averse so I do you
 And am by your own doctrine taught
 To practise what you call a fault
 Quoth she, If what you say be true,
 You must fly me, as I do you, 340
 But tis not what we do but say²
 In love and preaching that must sway
 Quoth he To bid me not to love,
 Is to forbid my pulse to move
 My beard to grow my ears to prick up, 345
 Or when I m in a fit, to hickup
 Command me to piss out the moon,
 And twill as easily be done
 Love s power s too great to be withstood
 By feeble human flesh and blood 350
 'Twas he that brought upon his knees
 The hec ring kill cow Hercules³
 Reduc d his leaguer hon s skin⁴
 T^o a petticoat and make him spin

¹ This is Grey's emendation for fanatick which Butler's editions have and it certainly agrees with what the widow says afterwards in lines 545 546 But fanatic signifies "fantastic in the highest degree and thus irrational or absurd

² Do as I say not as I do is said to have been the very rational recommendation of a preacher whose teaching was more correct than his practice

³ It is of the essence of bulesque poetry to turn into ridicule such legends as the labours of Hercules and the common epithet kill cow was exactly adapted to the character of these exploits

⁴ Leagner was a camp and 'leaguer lion s skin is no more than the costume of Hercules the warrior, as contrasted with Omphale s petticoat, the costume of Hercules the lover (See Skinner, *sub voce* Leagner)

Seiz d on his club and made it dwindle ¹ 305
 T a feeble distaff and a spindle
 'Twas he made emperors gallants
 To their own sisters and their aunts ²
 Set popes and cardinals agog
 To play with pages at leap frog ³ 360
 T was he that gave our senate purges
 And flux d the house of many a burgess ⁴
 Made those that represent the nation
 Submit and suffer amputation
 And all the grandees o th cabal 365
 Adjourn to tubs at spring and fall
 He mounted synod men and rode em
 To Dirty lane and Little Sodom ⁵
 Made em curvet like Spanish gennets
 And take the ring at Madam ——— ⁶ 370
 'Twas he that made Saint Francis do
 More than the devil could tempt him to ⁷

¹ See Ovid's Epistle of Dejanira to Hercules (Bohn's Ovid vol. iii p 81)

² See Suetonius Tacitus and other historians of the Roman Empire

³ The name of Alexander Borgia (Pope Alexander VI) continues to be the synonyme for the unspeakable abominations of the Papal Court in the times that were not long past when Butler wrote

⁴ This alludes to the exclusion of the opponents of the army from the Parliament called Pride's Purge

⁵ Dirty lane was not an unfrequent name for a place like that referred to Maitland names five in his time One was in Old Palace Yard and may have been meant by Butler Little Sodom was near the Tower on the site now occupied by St Catharine's Docks These and other charges brought against the Puritan and Parliamentary leaders will be found in Echard's History of England and Walker's History of Independency Cromwell when he expelled the Long Parliament himself called Martyn and Wentworth whoresmasters

⁶ Sir Roger L'Estrange's Key fills up the blank with the name of Stennet the wife of a broom man and lay elder and the same name is given in our contemporary MS She is said to have followed the laudable employment of bawling and managed several intrigues for those brothers and sisters whose piety consisted chiefly in the whiteness of their linen The Tatler mentions a lady of this stamp called Bennet

⁷ In the Life of St Francis we are told that being tempted by the devil in the shape of a virgin he subdued his passion by rolling himself naked in the snow

In cold and frosty weather grow
 Enamour d of a wife of snow
 And though she were of rigid temper 370
 With melting flames accost and tempt her
 Which after in enjoyment quenching
 He hung a garland on his engine ¹
 Quoth she If love have these effects,
 Why is it not forbid our sex ? 380
 Why is 't not damn d and interdicted,
 For diabolical and wicked ?
 And sung as out of tune, against,
 As Turk and Pope are by the saints ? ²
 I find I've greater reason for it 385
 Than I believ d before t abhor it
 Quoth Hudibras These sad effects
 Spring from your heathenish neglects
 Of love's great pow'r which he returns
 Upon yourselves with equal scorns , 390
 And those who worthy lovers slight,
 Plagues with prepost'rous appetite
 This made the beauteous queen of Crete
 To take a town bull for her sweet ³
 And from her greatness stoop so low, 395
 To be the rival of a cow
 Others to prostitute their great hearts,
 To be baboons' and monkeys' sweet hearts ⁴
 Some with the devil himself in league grow,
 By s representative a negro ⁵ 400

¹ In the history of Howell's Life of Lewis XIII p 80 it is said that the French horsemen who were killed at the Isle of Rhe had their mistresses' favours tied about their engines

² Perhaps alluding to Robert Wisdom's hymn

"Preserve us Lord by thy dear word—
 From Turk and Pope defend us, Lord

³ Pasiphaë the wife of Minos of Crete according to the myth fell in love with a bull and brought him a son

⁴ Old books of Natural History contain many stories of the 'abduction of women by the Mandrill and other great kinds of ape And fouler tales than these were circulated after the Restoration, against the Puritans

⁵ Such an amour forms the plot of Titus Andronicus a play which Shakspeare revised for the stage, and which has in consequence been wrongly ascribed to him

Twas this made vestal maids love sick
 And venture to be buried quick ¹
 Some, by their fathers and their brothers ²
 To be made mistresses and mothers ³
 'Tis this that proudest dames enamours 100
 On lacqueys and *varlets des chambres* ⁴
 Their haughty stomachs overcomes
 And makes em stoop to dirty grooms
 To slight the world and to disparage
 Claps issue infamy and marriage ⁵ 410
 Quoth she These judgments are severe
 Yet such as I should rather bear
 Than trust men with their oaths or prove
 Their faith and secrecy in love
 Says he There is a weighty reason 415
 For secrecy in love as treason
 Love is a burglarer a felon
 That in the windore eye ⁶ does steal in
 To rob the heart and with his prey,
 Steals out again a closer way 420
 Which whosoever can discover
 He s sure, as he deserves to suffer
 Love is a fire that burns and sparkles
 In men as naturally as in charcoals,
 Which sooty chemists stop in holes 425
 When out of wood they extract coals ⁷
 So lovers should their passions choke
 That tho they burn they may not smoke

¹ By the Roman law vestal virgins who broke their vow of chastity were buried alive See the story of Myrrha in Ovid Metam (Bohn s Ovid s M p 359)

² The marriage of brothers and sisters was common amongst royal fami lies in Egypt and the East

³ Probably alluding to Lucretia Borgia daughter of Pope Alexander VI whom Roscoe (Leo X App) has attempted to defend against these charges

⁴ Valet is the old form of *valet* Thus knave, which now signifies a cheat formerly meant no more than a servant

⁵ That is to be indifferent to the consequences of illicit amours the absence of marriage and legitimate offspring on the one hand and the acquisition of claps and infamy on the other

⁶ Thus spelt in all editions before 1700 for 'window, and perhaps most agreeably to the etymology See Skinner

⁷ Charcoal is made by burning wood under a cover of turf and mould, which keeps it from blazing

Tis like that stundy thief that stole
 And dragg d beasts backward into s hole , ¹ 430
 So love does lovers and us men
 Draws by the tails into his den,
 That no impression may discover
 And trace t his cave the way lover
 But if you doubt I should reveal 435
 What you intust me unde seal ²
 I ll prove myself as close and virtuous
 As your own secretary Albertus ³
 Quoth she, I grant you may be close
 In hiding what y our aims propose 440
 Love passions are like parables
 By which men still mean something else
 Tho' love be all the world s pretence,
 ✓ Money s the mythologic sense, ⁴
 The real substance of the shadow 445
 Which all address and courtship s made to
 Thought he, I understand y our play,
 And how to quit you your own way ,
 He that will win his dame must do
 As Love does when he bends his bow , 450
 With one hand thrust the lady from,
 And with the other pull her home ⁵
 I grant quoth he wealth is a great
 Provocative to am ious heat

¹ Cacus the noted robber when he had stolen cattle, drew them backward by their tails into his den lest their tracks should lead to the discovery of them See Virgil, *Æneid* viii 205 Also Addison's Works (Bohn), v 220

² There is no doubt an allusion here to the obligation of secrecy, on the part of the confessor, respecting the confession of penitents except in the case of crimes which was also enjoined upon ministers of the English Church by the 113th Canon of 1603

³ Albertus Magnus Bp of Ratisbon about 1260 wrote a book, *De Secretis Mulierum* whence the poet facetiously calls him woman's secretary

⁴ Grey says this is illustrated in the story of Inkle and Yarico *Spectator* LI

⁵ The Harleian Miscellany, vol vi p 530 describes an interview between Perkin Warbeck and Lady Katharine Gordon which illustrates this kind of dalliance 'With a kind of reverence and fashionable gesture, after he had kissed her thrice, he took her in both his hands crosswise and gazed upon her, with a kind of putting her from him and pulling her to

It is all philtres and high diet, 450
 That makes love rampant and to fly out
 'Tis beauty always in the flower
 That buds and blossoms at fourscore
 'Tis that by which the sun and moon,
 At their own weapons are outdone ¹ 460
 That makes knights errant fall in trances,
 And lay about em in romances
 'Tis virtue, wit and worth and all
 That men divine and sacred call
 For what is worth in anything 260
 But so much money as twill bring?
 Or what but riches is there known
 Which man can solely call his own
 In which no creature goes his half
 Unless it be to squint and laugh? 470
 I do confess with goods and land?
 I d have a wife at second hand
 And such you are nor is t your person
 My stomach s set so sharp and fierce on,
 But tis your better part your riches, 470
 That my enamour d heart bewitches
 Let me your fortune but possess,
 And settle your person how you please,
 Or make it o er in trust to the devil
 You ll find me reasonable and civil 480
 Quoth she I like this plainness better
 Than false mock passion speech or letter,
 Or any feat of qualm or sowning ³
 But hanging of yourself or drowning,
 Your only way with me to break 480
 Your mind is breaking of your neck

him and so again and again re-kissed her and set her in her place, with a pretty manner of enforcement

¹ Gold and silver are marked by the sun and moon in chemistry as they were supposed to be more immediately under the influence of those luminaries. The appropriation of the seven metals known to the ancients, to the seven planets with which they were acquainted respectively may be traced as high as Proclus in the fifth century. The splendour of gold is more refulgent than the rays of the sun and moon

Compare the whole of this passage with Petruchio's speech in the Taming of the Shrew Act 1 sc 2 and Grumio's explanation of it

³ Altered to swooning in the edition of 1700

For as when merchants break o'erthrown
 Like nine pins, they strike others down
 So that would break my heart which done,
 My tempting fortune is your own 490
 These are but trifles every lover
 Will damn himself over and over
 And greater matters undertake
 For a less worthy mistress sake
 Yet these are the only ways to prove 495
 The unfeign'd realities of love
 For he that hangs or beats out his brains,
 The devil is in him if he feigns
 Quoth Hudibras This way's too rough
 For mere experiment and proof, 500
 It is no jesting trivial matter
 To swing in the air or dounce in water,¹
 And like a water witch try love,²
 That's to destroy and not to prove
 As if a man should be dissected, 505
 To find what part is disaffected
 Your better way is to make over,
 In trust your fortune to your lover³
 Trust is a trial, if it break,
 'Tis not so desperate as a neck 510
 Beside the experiment's more certain
 Men venture necks to gain a fortune
 The soldier does it every day,⁴
 Eight to the week, for six pence pay⁵

¹ *Vari* 'plunge in water' or 'dive in water'

² The common test for witchcraft was to throw the suspected witch into the water. If she swam she was judged guilty; if she sank she preserved her character and only lost her life. King James in his *Demonology* explained the floating of the witch by the refusal of the element used in baptism to receive into its bosom one who had renounced the blessing of it. The last witch swum in England was an old woman in a village of Suffolk, about 30 years ago.

³ Grey compares this to the highwayman's advice to a gentleman upon the road: 'Sir, be pleased to leave your watch, your money, and your rings with me or by —— you'll be robbed.'

⁴ This and the three following lines were added in the edition of 1674.

⁵ Warburton explains that if a soldier gets only sixpence a day and one day's pay is reserved weekly for stoppages he must make eight days to the week before he will receive a clear week's pay. Percennius, the mutinous

Your pettifoggers damn their souls
 To share with knaves in cheating fools
 And merchants venturing through the main ¹
 Slight pirates, rocks and horns for gain
 This is the way I advise you to
 Trust me and see what I will do 520
 Quoth she I should be loth to run
 Myself all th hazard and vou none,
 Which must be done unless some deed
 Of yours aforesaid do precede
 Give but yourself one gentle swing ² 525
 For trial and I ll cut the string
 Or give that rev rend head a maul,
 Or two or three, against a wall
 To show you are a man of mettle
 And I ll engage myself to settle 530
 Quoth he My head s not made of brass,
 As Friar Bacon s noddle was ³
 Nor like the Indian s skull so tough
 That authors say, twas musket proof ⁴
 As it had need to be to enter, 535
 As yet, on any new adventure
 You see what bangs it has endur'd
 That would, before new feats, be cur d

soldier in Tacitus (Annals I c 17) seems to have been sensible of some such hardship

¹ See Spectator No 450

² Grey surmises from Hudibras s refusal to comply with this request that he would by no means have approved an antique game invented by a Thracian tribe of which we are told by Martinus Scriblerus (book i ch 6) that one of the players was hung up and had a knife given him to cut himself down with of course forfeiting his life if he failed

³ It was one of the legends respecting that great natural philosopher Roger Bacon that he had formed a head of brass, which uttered these words *Time is* Sir Thomas Browne in his *Vulgar Error* book vii ch. 17 § 7 explains it as a kind of myth regarding the philosopher s great work —the making of gold In Sir Francis Palgrave s *Merchant and Friar* it is no more than the extremity of a tube for conveying messages from one room to another

⁴ Blockheads and loggerheads says Bulwer (*Artificial Changeling* p 42), are in request in Brazil and helmets are of little use every one having a natural morion of his head for the Brazilians heads some of them, are as hard as the wood that grows in their country, so that they cannot be broken See also Purchas s *Pilgr* fol vol iii p 993

But if that s all you stand upon,
 Here strike me luck it shall be done ¹ 54C
 Quoth she The matter s not so fur gone
 As you suppose two words t a bargain ,
 That may be done and time enough
 When you have given downright proof
 And yet 'tis no fantastic pique 54
 I have to love nor coy dislike
 'Tis no implicit nice aversion ²
 T your conversation mien or person
 But a just fear lest you should prove
 False and perfidious in love 550
 For if I thought you could be true,
 I could love twice as much as you
 Quoth he, My faith as adamant
 As chains of destiny I ll maintam
 True as Apollo ever spoke 555
 Or oracle from heart of oak ³
 And if you ll give my flame but vent,
 Now in close hugger mugger pent
 And shine upon me but benignly
 With that one and that other pigsney ⁴ 560
 The sun and day shall sooner part
 Than love or you shake off my heart
 The sun that shall no more dispense
 His own but your bright influence
 I ll carve your name on barks of trees, ⁵ 565
 With true love knots, and flourishes

¹ In ancient times when butchers and country people made a bargain one of the parties held out in his hand a piece of money which the other struck, and the bargain was closed Compare this impolite way of counting with the following expression, —

“Come, *strike me luck* with earnest and draw the writings

Beaumont and Fletcher — Scornful Lady Act II

² Implicit signifies secret not explicit here was not a fanciful aversion which could not be explained Nice means over refined or squeamish

³ Jupiter's oracle near Dodona in Epirus Apollo's oracle was the celebrated one at Delphi

⁴ Pigsney is a term of endearment used here however of the eyes alone In Pembroke's Arcadia Dametas says to his wife “Miso, mine own pigsnie Somner gives *piga* (Danish) ‘a little maid, as the etymology of this word which is a purely burlesque expression

⁵ See Don Quixote vol. I ch 4, and vol IV ch 73 As you like it, Act 3

That shall infuse eternal spring
 And everlasting flourishing
 Drink every letter on t in stum ¹
 And make it brisk champagne become 570
 Where'er you tread your foot shall set
 The primrose and the violet
 All spices perfumes and sweet powders
 Shall borrow from your breath their odours,
 Nature her charter shall renew 57
 And take all lives of things from you
 The world depend upon your eye
 And when you frown upon it die
 Only our loves shall still survive
 New worlds and natures to outlive 580
 And like to heralds moons remain
 All crescents without change or wane
 Hold hold quoth she no more of this
 Sir Knight you take your aim amiss
 For you will find it a hard chapter 585
 To catch me with poetic rapture
 In which your mastery of art
 Doth show itself and not your heart
 Nor will you raise in mine combustion, ✓
 By dint of high heroic fustian † 590
 She that with poetry is won
 Is but a desk to write upon
 And what men say of her they mean
 No more than on the thing they lean

¹ Stum (from the Latin *mustum*) is any new thick unfermented liquor
 Hudibras means that bad wine would turn into good foul muddy wine into
 clear sparkling champagne by drinking the widow's health in it. It was
 a custom among the gallants of Butler's time to drink a bumper to their
 mistress' health to every letter of her name. The custom prevailed among
 the Romans thus the well known epigram of Martial

Lævia sex cyathis septem Justina bibatur
 Quinque Lycas Lyde quatuor Ida tribus
 Omnis ab infuso numeretur amica falerno — Ep I 72

For every letter drink a glass
 That spells the name you fancy
 Take four, if Suly be your lass,
 And five, if it be Nancy

Some with Arabian spices strive 590
 T' embalm her cruelly alive
 Or season her as French cooks use
 Their *haut gouts bouillies* or *ragouts* ¹
 Use her so barbarously ill
 To grind her lips upon a mill ² 600
 Until the facet doublet doth ³
 Fit their rhymes rather than her mouth ⁴
 Her mouth compar'd to an oyster's with
 A row of pearl in the stead of teeth,
 Others make posies of her cheeks 605
 Where red and whitest colours mix,
 In which the lily and the rose
 For Indian lake and ceruse goes ⁵
 The sun and moon by her bright eyes,
 Eclips'd and darken'd in the skies 610
 Are but black patches that she wears,
 Cut into suns and moons, and stars, ⁶
 By which astrologers as well
 As those in heav'n above can tell
 What strange events they do foreshow, 615
 Unto her under world below ⁷

¹ Till the edition of 1704 this line stood

 Their *haut-gusts bouillies* or *ragusts*

These things were made dishes and were all highly flavoured and hot with spices

² As they do by comparing her lips to rubies, which are polished by a mill

³ *Facet* a little face or small surface. Diamonds and precious stones are ground *à la facette* or with many faces or small surfaces that they may have the greater lustre. A doublet is a false stone made of two crystals joined together with green or red cement between them in order to resemble stones of that colour. Facet doublet, therefore is a false stone cut in faces

⁴ See Don Quixote ch. 73 and ch. 38 also the description of "a Whore" by John Taylor the water poet, for other satires on this fantastic habit of lovers

⁵ These are the names of two pigments, the former crimson the latter a preparation of white lead and vinegar

⁶ The ladies formerly were very fond of wearing a great number of black patches on their faces, often cut in fantastical shapes. See Bulwer's *Artificial Changeling* p. 252 &c. *Spectator* No. 50 and Beaumont and Fletcher's *Elder Brother* Act iii sc. 11

⁷ A double entendre. This and the three preceding lines do not appear in the editions of 1664 but were added in 1674

Her voice, the music of the spheres,
 So loud it deafens mortal ears
 As wise philosophers have thought,
 And that's the cause we hear it not ¹ 620
 This has been done by some who those
 With adord in rhyme would kick in prose,
 And in those ribbons would have hung
 Of which melodiously they sung ²
 That have the hard fate to write best 625
 Of those still that deserve it least ³
 It matters not how false or forc'd
 So the best things be said o th worst,
 It goes for nothing when tis said
 Only the arrow s drawn to th head, 630
 Whether it be a swan or goose
 They level at so shepherds use
 To set the same mark on the hip
 Both of their sound and rotten sheep
 For wits that carry low or wide 635
 Must be aim'd higher or beside
 The mark which else they ne'er come nigh,
 But when they take their aim awry
 But I do wonder you should chuse
 This way t attack me with your muse 640

¹ Pythagoras asserted that this world is made according to musical proportion and that the seven planets betwixt heaven and earth which govern the nativities of mortals have an harmonious motion and render various sounds according to their several heights so consonant that they make most sweet melody but to us inaudible because of the greatness of the noise which the narrow passage of our ears is not capable to receive He is presumed to have interpreted the passage in Job literally When the morning stars sang together chap xix 7 Stanley's Life of Pythagoras p 393 Milton wrote on the Harmony of the Spheres when at Cambridge and has some fine lines on the subject in his Arcades, and in his Paradise Lost v 625 &c See Shakspeare's Merchant of Venice Act v sc 1 for the most exquisite passage in the language on this subject

² Thus Waller on a girdle

'Give me but what this *ribbon* bound

³ Warburton was of opinion that Butler alluded to one of Mr Waller's poems on Saccharissa where he complains of her unkindness Others suppose with more probability that he alludes to the poet's well known reply to the king when he reproached him with having written best in praise of Oliver Cromwell We poets, says he, 'succeed better in fiction than in truth

As one cut out to pass your tricks on,
 With fulham^s of poetic fiction ¹
 I rather hop d I should no more
 /Hear from you o th gallanting score , 645
 For hard dry bastings us d to prove
 The readiest remedies of love,
 Next a dry diet but if those fail,
 Yet this uneasy loop hol d jail,
 In which y are hamper d by the fetlock,
 Cannot but put y in mind of wedlock 650
 Wedlock, that s worse than any hole here
 If that may serve you for a cooler,
 T allay your mettle all agog
 Upon a wife the heavier clog
 Nor rather thank your gentler fate, 655
 That, for a bruus d or broken pate
 Has freed you from those knobs that grow
 Much harder on the marry d brow
 But if no dread can cool your courage,
 From vent ring on that dragon marriage , 660
 Yet give me quarter and advance
 To nobler aims your puissance ,
 Level at beauty and at wit
 The fanest mark is easiest hit
 Quoth Hudibras, I am beforehand 665
 In that already with your command ,
 For where does beauty and high wit
 But in your constellation meet ?
 Quoth she, What does a match imply,
 But likeness and equality ? 670
 I know you cannot think me fit
 To be th yokefellow of your wit ,
 Nor take one of so mean deserts,
 To be the partner of your parts ,

¹ That is with cheats or impositions Fulham was a cant word for a false d ce many of them as it is supposed being made at that place The high dice were loaded so as to come up 4 5 6 and the low ones 1, 2 3

For gourd and fullam holds says Pistol,
 And high and low beguile the rich and poor

Merry Wives of Windsor Act 1 sc 3
 And Cleveland says Now a Scotchman s tongue runs high fulhams

A grace which, if I could believe 870
 I've not the conscience to receive ¹
 That conscience quoth Hudibras,
 Is misinform'd, I'll state the case
 A man may be a legal donor
 Of anything whereof he's owner 680
 And may confer it where he lists,
 I' th' judgment of all casuists
 Then wit and parts and valour may
 Be alienated and made away
 By those that are proprietors 68
 As I may give or sell my horse
 Quoth she I grant the case is true
 And proper 'twixt your horse and you
 And whether I may take as well
 As you may give away or sell ² 69
 Buyers you know are bid beware ²
 And worse than thieves receivers are
 How shall I answer Hue and Cry ³
 For a roan gelding twelve hands high ⁴
 All spurred and switch'd a lock on's hoof ⁵ 69
 A sorrel mare ² Can I bring proof
 Where when by whom and what y^e were sold for
 And in the open market toll'd for ⁶
 Or should I take you for a stray
 You must be kept a year and day ⁷ 700

¹ Conscience is here used as a word of two syllables and in the next line as three

See *Caveat emptor*! Dict. of Classical Quotations

³ Hue and Cry was the legal notice to a neighbourhood for pursuit of a felon. See Blackstone

⁴ This is a galling reflection upon the knight's abilities his complexion and his height which the widow intimates was not more than four feet

⁵ There is humour in the representation which the widow makes of the knight under the similitude of a roan gelding supposed to be stolen or to have strayed. Farmers often put locks on the fore feet of their horses to prevent their being stolen and the knight had his feet fast in the stocks at the time

⁶ This alludes to the custom enjoined by two Acts 2 & 3 Phil and Mary and 31 Eliz of tolling horses at fairs to prevent the sale of any that might have been stolen and help the owners to the recovery of them

⁷ Estrays or cattle which came astray were cried on two market days and in two adjoining market towns and if not claimed within a year and a day they became the property of the lord of the liberty (or manor)

Ere I can own you, here 1 th pound
 Where, if ye re sought you may be found ,
 And in the mean time I must pay
 For all your provender and hay
 Quoth he, It stands me much upon 705
 T enervate this objection
 And prove myself by topic clear,
 No gelding as you would infer
 Loss of virility s averr d
 To be the cause of loss of beard ¹ 710
 That does, like embryo in the womb,
 Abortive on the chin become
 This first a woman did invent,
 In envy of man s ornament
 Semiramis of Babylon, 715
 Who first of all cut men o' th stone ²
 To mar their beards, and laid foundation
 Of sow geldering operation
 Look on this beard and tell me whether
 Eunuchs wear such or geldings either ? 720
 Next it appears I am no horse
 That I can argue and discourse,
 Have but two legs and ne er a tail
 Quoth she That nothing will avail
 For some philosophers of late here 725
 Write men have four legs by nature ³
 And that tis custom makes them go
 Erroneously upon but two ,
 As twas in Germany made good,
 B a boy that lost himself in a wood , 730

¹ See the note on line 114 of this Canto

² Semiramis queen of Assyria is reputed to be the first that invented eunuchs *Semiramis teneros mares castravit omnium prima* (Am Mar cellinus 1 24) which is thought to be somewhat strange in a lady of her constitution who is said to have received horses into her embrace But the poet means to laugh at Dr Bulwer who in his *Artificial Changeling*, scene 21 has many strange stories and in page 208, says, "Nature gave to mankind a beard that it might remain an index in the face of the masculine generative faculty"

³ Sir Kenelm Digby in his book of *Bodies* has the well known story of the wild German boy who went on all fours, was overgrown with hair and lived among the wild beasts the credibility and truth of which he endeavours to establish by several natural reasons See also Tatler No 103

And growing down t a man was wont
 With wolves upon all four to hunt
 As for your reasons drawn from tails ¹
 We cannot say they re true or false
 Till you explain yourself and show
 B experiment tis so or no

Quoth he If you ll join issue on t ²

I'll give you satisfact ry account

So you will promise if you lose,

To settle all, and be my spouse

74)

That never shall be done quoth she

To one that wants a tail by me

For tails by nature sure were meant

As well as beards for ornament ³

And tho the vulgar count them homely

745

In man or beast they are so comely

So *gentee alamode* and handsome ⁴

I ll never marry man that wants one

And till you can demonstrate plain,

You have one equal to your mane,

750

I ll be torn piece meal by a horse,

Ere I ll take you for better or worse

The Prince of Cambay s daily food

Is asp, and basilisk, and toad ⁵

¹ See Fontaine Conte de la jument du compere Pierre Lord Monboddo had a theory about tails he maintained that naturally they were as proper appendages to man as to beasts but that the practice of sitting had in process of time completely abraded them

² That is rest the cause upon this point

³ Mr Butler here alludes to Dr Bulwer's Artificial Changeling p 410 where besides the story of the Kentish men near Rochester who had tails clapped to their breeches by Thomas a Beckett he gives an account from an honest young man of Captain Morris s company in Ireton s regiment that at Cashell in the county of Tipperary in Carrick Patrick church seated on a rock stormed by Lord Inchequin where near 700 were put to the sword there were found among the slain of the Irish when they were stripped divers that had tails near a quarter of a yard long forty soldiers that were eye witnesses testified the same upon their oaths For an account of the Kentish Long tails see Lambard s Perambulation of Kent p 315 and Bohn s Handbook of Proverbs p 207

⁴ *Gentee* is the affected pronunciation of the French *gentil*

⁵ See Purchas s Pilgrime vol 11 p 1495 for the story of Macamat Sultan of Cambay who is said to have lived upon poison and so complete

Which makes him have so strong a breath, 755
 Each night he stinks a queen to death,
 Yet I shall rather lie in s arms
 Than your s, on any other terms
 Quoth he What nature can afford
 I shall produce upon my word, 760
 And if she ever gave that boon
 To man I ll prove that I have one,
 I mean by postulate illation ¹
 When you shall offer just occasion,
 But since ye ve yet denied to give 765
 My heart, your pris ner a reprieve,
 But make it sink down to my heel,
 Let that at least your pity feel
 And for the sufferings of your martyr,
 Give its poor entertainer quarter 770
 And by discharge or mainprise, grant
 Deliv ry from this base restraint ²
 Quoth she I grieve to see your leg
 Stuck in a hole here like a peg,
 And if I knew which way to do t 775
 Your honour safe I d let you out
 That dames by jail delivery
 Of errant knights have been set free ³
 When by enchantment they have been
 And sometimes for it too laid in, 780
 Is that which knights are bound to do
 By order, oaths and honour too,

ly to have saturated his breath that contact with him caused the death of 4000 concubines Philosoph Transactions lxxi 314 Montaigne b i Essay on Customs A gross double entendre runs through the whole of the widcw s speeches and likewise through those of the knight See T War ton on English Poetry iii p 10

¹ That is by inference consequence, or presumptive evidence

² Grey supposes that the usher, who attended the widow might be the constable of the place and that on that account Hudibras begged her to release him but it is more probable that she was of sufficient consideration to obtain his liberation either absolutely or on bail or that she could order her said u her to open the stocks and set him free

³ These and the following lines are a banter upon romance writers Our author keeps Don Quixote (Gayton s translation) constantly in his eye when he is aiming at this object In Europe the Spaniards and the French engaged first in this kind of writing from them it was communicated to the English

For what are they renown'd and famous else
 But aiding of distressed damosels '
 But for a lady no ways errant ¹ 85
 To free a knight we have no warrant
 In any authentical romance
 Or classic author yet of France
 And I'd be loth to have you break
 An ancient custom for a freak 790
 Or innovation introduce
 In place of things of antique use,
 To free your heels by any course
 That might be unwholesome to your spurs ²
 Which if I should consent unto 795
 It is not in my power to do
 For 'tis a service must be done ye
 With solemn previous ceremony
 Which always has been used to untie
 The charms of those who here do lie 800
 For as the ancients heretofore
 To Honour's temple had no door
 But that which thorough Virtue's lay ³
 So from this dungeon there's no way
 To honour's freedom but by passing 805
 That other virtuous school of lashing
 Where knights are kept in narrow lists
 With wooden lockets 'bout their wrists ⁴
 In which they for awhile are tenants
 And for their ladies suffer penance 810
 Whipping that's virtue's governess ⁵
 Tutress of arts and sciences
 That mends the gross mistakes of nature
 And puts new life into dull matter

¹ There were damsels errant as well as knights errant, in the romances and the widow disclaims all connection with that order

² That is to his honour The spurs were badges of knighthood and if a knight was degraded his spurs were hacked to pieces by a menial

³ The temple of Virtue and Honour was built by Marius the architect was Mutius it had no posticum See Vitruvius Piranesi &c

⁴ This refers to the whipping of petty criminals—humorously styled Knights—in houses of correction

⁵ A sly glance at the passion for flagellation displayed by the masters of schools

That lays foundation for renown, 810
 And all the honours of the gown
 This suffer'd, they are set at large
 And freed with honorable discharge,
 Then in their robes the penitentials
 Are straight presented with credentials¹ 820
 And in their way attended on
 By magistrates of every town
 And all respect and charges paid,
 They re to their ancient seats convey'd
 Now if you'll venture for my sake 825
 To try the toughness of your back,
 And suffer as the rest have done,
 The laying of a whipping on²
 And may you prosper in your suit
 As you with equal vigour do't, 830
 I here engage myself to loose ye
 And free your heels from caperdewsie³
 But since our sex's modesty
 Will not allow I should be by,
 Bring me on oath a fair account, 835
 And honour too, when you have done't
 And I'll admit you to the place
 You claim as due in my good grace
 If matrimony and hanging go⁴
 By destiny why not whipping too? 840
 What medicine else can cure the fits
 Of lovers, when they lose their wits?
 Love is a boy by poets styl'd,
 Then spare the rod, and spoil the child

¹ This alludes to the Acts of Parliament 33 Eliz. cap. 4. and 1 James I. c. 31, whereby vagrants were ordered to be whipped and with a certificate of the fact conveyed by constables to the place of their settlement.

A reference to the Amatorial Flagellants of Spain no other way to move the hearts of their ladies being left them, they borrowed the ascetic's scourge and used it.

³ From 1674 to 1700 these lines stood

I here engage to be your bail
 And free you from the unknighly jail

The etymology of caperdewsie evidently a term for the stocks, is unknown

⁴ Hanging and wiving go by destiny Handbook of Proverbs, p. 367

A Persian emp ror whipp d his grannum, 840
 The sea his mother Venus came on,¹
 And hence some rev rend men approve
 Of rosemary in making love²
 As skilful coopers hoop their tubs
 With Lydian and with Phrygian dubs³ 850
 Why may not whipping have as good
 A grace perform d in time and mood
 With comely movement and by art
 Raise passion in a lady s heart⁴
 It is an easier way to make 800
 Love by than that which many take
 Who would not rather suffer whipping
 Than swallow toasts of bits of ribbon⁵⁴
 Make wicked verses treats and faces
 And spell names over with beer glasses⁵ 860
 Be under vows to hang and die
 Love s sacrifice and all a lie⁶
 With China oranges and tarts
 And whining plays lay baits for hearts⁶
 Bribe chambermaids with love and money 865
 To break no roguish jests upon ye
 For likes himn d on cheeks and roses
 With painted perfumes hazard noses⁶

¹ Xerxes whipped the sea which was the mother of Venus and Venus was the mother of Cupid the sea therefore was the grannum or grandmother of Cupid and the object of imperial flagellation when the winds and the waves were not propitious See Juven Sat x 180

² As Venus came from the sea the poet supposes some connection with the word rosemary, or ros maris dew of the sea Rosemary was worn at weddings and carried at funerals See chapter on the subject in vol ii p 119—123 Brand s Pop. Antiquities (Bohn s edition)

³ Coopers like blacksmiths give to their work alternately a heavy stroke and a light one which our poet humorously compares to the Lydian and Phrygian measures The former were soft and effeminate, the latter rough and martial

⁴ One of the follies practised by Inamoratos Grey quotes a tract printed in 1659 which informs us that French gallants in their frohes spare not the ornaments of their madams who cannot wear a piece of ferret ribbon but they will cut it in pieces and swallow it in wine, to celebrate their bet ter fortune

⁵ Spell them in the number of glasses of beer as before at ver 570

⁶ The plain meaning of the distich is, venture disease for painted and perfumed whores

Or, vent'ring to be brisk and wanton,
 Do penance in a paper lanthorn ¹ 870
 All this you may compound for now,
 By suff'ring what I offer you
 Which is no more than has been done
 By knights for ladies long ago
 Did not the great La Mancha do so 875
 For the Infanta Del Toboso ²
 Did not the illustrious Bassa make
 Himself a slave for Miss's sake ³
 And with bull's pizzle for her love,
 Was taw'd as gentle as a glove ⁴ 880
 Was not young Florio sent, to cool
 His flame for Biancafiore to school,⁵
 Where pedant made his pathic bum⁶
 For her sake suffer martyrdom ⁷
 Did not a certain lady whip, 885
 Of late, her husband's own lordship ⁷

¹ Alluding to an ecclesiastical discipline for such faults as adultery and fornication

² Meaning the penance which Don Quixote underwent on the mountain for the sake of Dulcinea Part 1 book iii ch 2

³ Ibrahim, the illustrious Bassa in the romance of Monsieur Scudery His mistress Isabella, princess of Monaco being conveyed away to the Sultan's seraglio he got into the palace disguised as a slave, and after a multitude of adventures became grand vizier

⁴ To taw is a term used by leather dressers signifying to soften the leather and make it pliable by rubbing it See Wright's Glossary

⁵ Alluding to an Italian romance entitled Florio and Biancafiore The widow here cites some illustrious examples of the three nations Spanish French, and Italian to induce the knight to give himself a scourging according to the established laws of chivalry The adventures of Florio and Biancafiore which make the principal subject of Boccaccio's Filocopo were famous long before Boccaccio as he himself informs us Florio and Blancaster are mentioned as illustrious lovers, by a Languedocian poet in his *Breviari d'Amor* dated in the year 1288 it is probable however that the story was enlarged by Boccaccio See Tyrwhitt on Chaucer iv 169

⁶ Alluding to the schoolmasters' passion for whipping

⁷ The person here meant is Lady Munson Her husband, Lord Munson of Bury St Edmund's one of the king's judges being suspected by his lady of changing his political principles, was by her with the assistance of her maids tied naked to the bed post and whipped till he promised to behave better For which useful piece of political zeal she received thanks in open court Sir William Waller's lady Mrs May, and

And, tho a grandee of the house
 Claw d him with fundamental blows ¹
 Thed him stark naked to a bed post
 And fir d his hide as if sh had rid post 890
 And after in the sessions court,
 Where whipping s judg d had honour for t ?
 This swear you will perform and then
 I ll set you from th enchanted den ²
 And the magician s circle clear 895
 Quoth he, I do profess and swear
 And will perform what you enjoin
 Or may I never see you mine
 Amen quoth she then turn d about
 And bid her squire let him out ³ 900
 But ere an artist could be found
 T undo the charms another bound
 The sun grew low and left the skies
 Put down some write by ladies eyes ⁴
 The moon pull d off her veil of light, 905
 That hides her face by day from sight
 Mysterious veil of brightness made
 That s both her lustre and her shade ⁵
 And in the lanthorn of the night
 With shining horns hung out her light ⁶ 910
 For darkness is the proper sphere ⁷
 Where all false glories use t appear

Sir Henry Mildmay s lady were supposed to have exercised the same authority See History of Flagellants p 340 8vo and Loyal Songs vol II p 68 and 58

¹ ' Legislative blows in the two first editions

² In editions subsequent to 1734 we read

I ll free you from the enchanted den

³ So in the corrections at the end of vol II of the second edition in 1664

⁴ One of the romance writers extravagant conceits

⁵ The rays of the sun obscure the moon by day and enlighten it by night This passage is extremely beautiful and poetical showing among many others Butler s powers in serious poetry, if he had chosen that path

⁶ Altered subsequently to—

And in the night as freely shone
 As if her rays had been her own

⁷ This and the following line were first inserted in the edition of 1674

The twinkling stars began to muster
And glitter with their borrow'd lustre
While sleep the weary'd world reliev'd
By counterfeiting death reviv'd
Our vot'ry thought it best to adjourn
His whipping penance till the morn,
And not to carry on a work
Of such importance in the dark
With erring haste but rather stay,
And do to the open face of day
And in the mean time go in quest
Of next retreat to take his rest¹

915

1

920

¹ The critic will remark how exact our poet is in observing times and seasons: he describes morning and evening and one day only is passed since the opening of the poem.



PART II CANTO II



ARGUMENT

The Knight and Squire in hot dispute
Within an ace of falling out
Are parted with a sudden fright
Of strange alarm and stranger sight,
With which adventuring to stickle,
They re sent away in nasty pickle

PART II CANTO II



'TIS strange how some men's tempers suit
 Like bawd and brandy, with dispute ¹
 That for their own opinions stand fast
 Only to have them claw'd and canvast
 That keep their consciences in cases ² 5
 As fiddlers do their crowds and bases,³
 Ne'er to be us'd but when they're bent
 To play a fit for argument ⁴
 Make true and false unjust and just,
 Of no use but to be discuss'd, 10
 Dispute and set a paradox
 Like a strait boot upon the stocks ⁵
 And stretch it more unmercifully
 Than Helmont, Montaigne, White, or Tully ⁶

¹ That is some men love disputing as a bawd loves brandy
 A pun or jeu de mots on cases of conscience

² That is their fiddles and violoncellos

³ The old phrase was to play a fit of mirth the word fit often occurs
 in ancient ballads and metrical romances it is generally applied to music
 and signifies a division or part for the convenience of the performers

⁴ That is, like a tight boot on a boot tree

⁵ Van Helmont (the elder) was an eminent physician and naturalist a
 warm opposer of the principles of Aristotle and Galen and an enthusiastic
 student of chemistry born at Brussels, in 1588, and died 1664 His son
 born in 1618 died 1699, was likewise versed in physic and chemistry and
 celebrated for his paradoxes Michael de Montaigne was born at Perigord
 of a good family 1533 died 1592 He was carefully but fancifully educated
 by his father awakened every morning by strains of soft music taught Latin
 by conversation and Greek as an amusement His Essays however de-
 lightful contain abundance of paradoxes and whimsical reflections Thomas
 White (or Albion) was a zealous champion of the Church of Rome and the
 Aristotelian philosophy and wrote against Joseph Glanville who printed
 in London 1665 a book entitled Sceptis Scientifica, or Confessed Ignor-
 ance the Way to Science He also wrote in defence of the peculiar notions
 of Sir Kenelm Digby and is said to have been fond of dangerous singularities
 He died in 1676 For Tully, whose character does not answer to the text,

So th ancient Stoics in the Porch 15
 With fierce dispute maintain d their church,
 Beat out their brains in fight and study,
 To prove that virtue is a body,¹
 That *bonum* is an animal
 Made good with stout polemic brawl 20
 In which some hundreds on the place
 Were slain outright,² and many a face
 Retrench d of nose and eyes and beard,
 To maintain what their sect averr d
 All which the Knight and Squire in wrath 25
 Had like t have suffer d for their faith
 Each striving to make good his own
 As by the sequel shall be shown
 The sun had long since in the lap³
 Of Thetis, taken out his nap, 30
 And like a lobster boil d, the morn
 From black to red began to turn⁴

some late editions read *Lully* but the former has been retained with the author's corrected edition If Butler meant Cicero he must allude to his *Stoicorum Paradoxa* in which for the exercise of his wit, Cicero defends some of the most extravagant doctrines of the Porch

¹ The Stoics who embraced all their doctrines as so many fixed and immutable truths from which it was infamous to depart allowed of no incorporeal substance no medium between body and nothing With them accidents and qualities virtues and vices and the passions of the mind were corporeal

² We meet with the same account in Butler's Remains vol ii 212 'This had been an excellent course for the old round headed Stoics to find out whether bonum was *corpus* or virtue an animal about which they had so many fierce encounters in their *Stoa*, that about 1400 lost their lives on the place and far many more their beards and teeth and noses Grecian history does not record these brawls but Diogenes Laertius in his life of Zeno book vii sect 5 says that this philosopher read his lectures in the *Stoa* or *Portico*, and hopes the place will be no more violated by civil seditions for adds he when the Thirty Tyrants governed the republic 1400 citizens were killed there referring to the judicial murders committed there in 404 B C on the overthrow of the Athenian constitution

³ As far as Phœbus first does rise

Until in Thetis lap he lies

Sir Arthur Gorges

See also Virgil's *Georgics* i 446 7

⁴ Mr M Bacon says this simile is taken from Rabelais who call the lobster cardinalized from the red habit which cardinals wear

When Hudibras whom thoughts and aching
 Twixt sleeping kept all night and waking,
 Began to rouse his drowsy eyes, 35
 And from his couch prepar'd to rise,
 Resolving to despatch the deed
 He vow'd to do with trusty speed
 But first, with knocking loud and bawling,
 He rous'd the Squire, in truckle lolling ¹ 40
 And after many circumstances
 Which vulgar authors in romances
 Do use to spend their time and wits on,
 To make impertinent description
 They got with much ado to horse 45
 And to the castle bent their course,
 In which he to the dame before
 To suffer whipping duty swore ²
 Where now arriv'd and half unharnest,
 To carry on the work in earnest 50
 He stopp'd and paus'd upon the sudden,
 And with a serious forehead plodding ³
 Sprung a new scruple in his head,
 Which first he scratch'd and after said
 Whether it be direct infringing 55
 An oath if I should wave this swingeing,
 And what I've sworn to bear forbear,
 And so b equivocation swear, ⁴

¹ See Don Quixote Part II ch 20 A truckle bed is a little bed on wheels which runs under a larger bed

² In the first edition it is *duty* but is corrected to *duty* in the Errata to the second edition of 1664

³ The Knight's new scruple is an excellent illustration of the quibbles by which unscrupulous consciences find excuses for violating oaths and promises

⁴ The equivocation and mental reservations of the Jesuits were loudly complained of and by none more than by the Sectaries When these last came into power, the Royalists had too often an opportunity of bringing the same charge against them Walker observes of the Independents that they were tenable by no oaths, principles promises declarations, nor by any obligations or laws divine or human And Sanderson, in his Obligation of Promissory Oaths says 'They rest secure absolving themselves from all guilt and fear of perjury and think they have excellently provided for themselves and conscience if during the act of swearing, they can make any shift to defend themselves either as the Jesuits do with some equivocation or mental reservation or by forcing upon the words some

Or whether 't be a lesser sin
 To be forsworn than act the thing, 60
 Are deep and subtle points which must,
 T inform my conscience be discust,
 In which to err a tittle may
 To errors infinite make way
 And therefore I desire to know 65
 Thy judgment ere we further go
 Quoth Ralpho Since you do injoin t
 I shall enlarge upon the point
 And for my own part do not doubt
 Th affirmative may be made out 70
 But first to state the case aright
 For best advantage of our light
 And thus tis whether t be a sin
 To claw and curry our own skin
 Greater or less than to forbear 75
 And that you are forsworn forswear
 But first o th first The inward man
 And outward like a clan and clan
 Have always been at daggers drawing
 And one another clapper clawing ¹ 80
 Not that they really cuff or fence
 But in a spiritual mystic sense
 Which to mistake and make them squabble
 In literal frays abominable
 Tis heathenish in frequent use 85
 With Pagans and apostate Jews
 To offer sacrifice of bridewells ²
 Like modern Indians to their idols ³

subtle interpretation or after they are sworn they can find some loophole or artificial evasion whereby such art may be used with the oath that the words remaining the meaning may be eluded with sophism and the sense utterly lost

¹ Alluding to the clans of Scotland which have sometimes kept up a feud for many generations and committed violent outrages on each other The doctrine which the Independents and other sectaries held concerning the natural hostility between the inward and outward man is frequently alluded to

² i e Whipping, as administered in Bridewell and similar houses of correction

³ The similarity of practice in this particular between the scourging sects of heathen Indians and the flagellants of the Romish Church is forcibly

And mongrel Christian of our times
 That expiate less with greater crimes, 90
 And call the foul abomination,
 Contrition and Mortification
 Is t not enough we re bruise d and kicked
 With sinful members of the wicked
 Our vessels that are sanctify d, 95
 Profane d and curried back and side
 But we must claw ourselves with shameful
 And heathen stripes, by their example ?
 Which were there nothing to forbid it,
 Is impious because they did it 100
 This therefore may be justly reckon d
 A heinous sin Now to the second
 That Saints may claim a dispensation
 To swear and forswear on occasion,
 I doubt not but it will appear 105
 With pregnant light the point is clear
 Oaths are but words and words but wind ¹
 Too feeble implements to bind
 And hold with deeds proportion so
 As shadows to a substance do 110
 Then when they strive for place tis fit
 The weaker vessel should submit
 Although your church be opposite
 To ours as Black Friars are to White
 In rule and order yet I grant 11
 You are a reformato saint ²
 And what the saints do claim as due,
 You may pretend a title to

pointed out and at the same time a favourite argument of the Puritans that whatever was Romish was *ipso facto* sinful is equally well ridiculed

¹ Such have "lovers vows always been represented The vows of self chastisement from which the Knight seeks self absolution, was a lover's vow But the general strain of satire is against elastic consciences and easy absolution whether catholic or sectarian See Tibullus, Eleg iv 17 18

² That is as being a Presbyter ian a quondam saint not then in the enjoyment of the pay and privileges of sainthood, as the Independents were Reformadoes were officers degraded from their command, but who returned their rank (Wright's Dict *sub voc*) See Part iii c ii line 91

But saints whom oaths or vows oblige
 Know little of their privilege 120
 Further I mean than carrying on
 Some self advantage of their own
 For if the devil to serve his turn
 Can tell truth why the saints should scorn
 When it serves theirs to swear and lie 130
 I think there's little reason why
 Else he has a greater power than they
 Which twere impiety to say
 We're not commanded to forbear
 Indefinitely at all to swear 130
 But to swear idly and in vain
 Without self interest or gain
 For breaking of an oath and lying
 Is but a kind of self denying
 A saint like virtue and from hence 135
 Some have broke oaths by Providence¹
 Some to the glory of the Lord
 Perjur'd themselves and broke their word
 And this the constant rule and practice
 Of all our late apostles acts is 140
 Was not the Cause at first begun
 With perjury and carried on?²
 Was there an oath the godly took
 But in due time and place they broke?³

¹ That is by the direction of the spirit which was commonly assumed as an excuse for violating oaths. When it was first moved in the House to proceed capitally against the king Cromwell stood up and told them That if any man moved this with design he should think him the greatest traitor in the world but since *Providence* and necessity had cast them upon it he should pray to God to bless their counsels

² The rebel army says South in their several treaties with the king being asked by him whether they would stand to such and such agreement and promises still answered that they would do as the spirit should direct them Whereupon that blessed prince would frequently condole his hard fate that he had to do with persons to whom the spirit dictated one thing one day and commanded the clean contrary the next Harrison Carew and others when tried for the part they took in the king's death professed they had acted out of conscience to the Lord

³ The Covenanters to accommodate their Large Declaration to the scruples of the Presbyterians in the matter of Episcopacy inserted 'That the swearer is neither obliged to the meaning of the prescribed oath nor his

Did we not bring our oaths in first, 145
 Before our plate, to have them burst,
 And cast in fitter models, for
 The present use of church and war ?
 Did not our worthies of the House
 Before they broke the peace, break vows ? ¹ 150
 For having freed us first from both
 Th Allegance and Suprem cy oath ¹
 Did they not next compel the nation
 To take, and break the Protestation ? ²
 To swear, and after to recant ³ 155
 The Solemn League and Covenant ? ⁴
 To take th Engagement, and disclaim it ⁵
 Enforc d by those who first did frame it ?

own meaning but as the authority shall afterwards interpret it The swearing and unswearing which Butler satirizes is one of the numerous parallels between the Great Rebellion and the French Revolution, only in the latter case the oaths were taken to a far more imposing array of Constitutions Talleyrand's oaths of this sort would have made the boldest Parliamentary swearer seem nought

¹ Though they did not in formal and express terms abrogate these oaths of allegiance and supremacy till after the king's death yet in effect they vacated and annulled them by administering the king's power, and substituting other oaths protestations and covenants

In the Protestation they promised to defend the true reformed religion as expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England which was presently afterwards disclaimed in the Covenant Ultimately the Covenant itself was altogether renounced by the Independents

³ And to recant is but to cant again says Sir Roger L Estrange

⁴ In the Solemn League and Covenant (called a *league* because it was to be a bond of amity and confederation between the kingdoms of England and Scotland and the *covenant* because it was in form a covenant with God) they swore to defend the person and authority of the king and cause the world to behold their fidelity and that they would not, in the least, diminish his just power and greatness The Presbyterians who held by the Covenant so far as it upheld their church, contrived to evade this part of it by saying they had sworn to defend the person and authority of the king in support of religion and public liberty and not when they were incompatible with each other But the Independents who were at last the prevailing party utterly renounced the Covenant Copies of the Covenant subscribed by the Minister and Parishioners remain in many Parochial Registers and in some the place for the Minister's name is blank—he perhaps expecting some change in which it might not be well for him to have signed it

⁵ After the death of the king a new oath which they call the Engagement bound every man to be true and faithful to the government then established without a king or House of Peers

Did they not swear at first to fight¹
 For the king's safety and his right² 160
 And after march'd to find him out
 And charg'd him home with horse and foot²
 And yet still had the confidence
 To swear it was in his defence²
 Did they not swear to live and die 165
 With Essex and straight laid him by²²
 If that were all, for some have sworn
 As false as they if th' did no more³
 Did they not swear to maintain law
 In which that swearing made a flaw² 170
 For Protestant religion vow
 That did that vowing disallow²
 For privilege of Parliament
 In which that swearing made a rent²
 And since of all the three not one⁴ 175
 Is left in being tis well known
 Did they not swear in express words
 To prop and back the House of Lords²
 And after turn'd out the whole house full
 Of peers as dang'rous and unuseful⁵ 180
 So Cromwell with deep oaths and vows
 Swore all the Commons out o' th' House⁶

¹ Cromwell when he first mustered his troop sincerely enough perhaps declared that he would not deceive them by perplexed or involved expressions in his commission to fight for the king and Parliament and that he would as soon fire his pistol at the king as at any one else

² When the Parliament first took up arms and the earl of Essex was chosen general the members of both Houses declared that they would live and die with him Yet the chief object of the self denying ordinance was to remove him from the command

³ Clarendon says, that many of Essex's friends believed he was poisoned (Vol iii b 10)

⁴ Namely law religion and privilege of Parliament

⁵ When the army began to proceed against the king in order to keep the Lords quiet a distinct promise was made to maintain their privileges, &c But no sooner was the king beheaded than it was resolved that the House of Peers was useless, and ought to be abolished which it was accordingly

⁶ After the king's party was utterly overthrown Cromwell who all along it is supposed aimed at the supreme power persuaded the Parliament to send part of their army into Ireland and to disband the rest, which the

Vow'd that the red coats would disband,
 Ay, marry wou d they, at their command ,
 And troll'd them on, and swore and swore 180
 Till th' army turn d them out of door
 This tells us plainly what they thought
 That oaths and swearing go for nought,¹
 And that by them th were only meant
 To serve for an expedient² 190
 What was the Public Faith found out for,³
 But to slur men of what they fought for⁴
 The Public Faith, which ev ry one
 Is bound t' observe yet kept by none⁴
 And if that go for nothing why 190
 Should private faith have such a tie⁵
 Oaths were not purpos d more than law,
 To keep the good and just in awe⁵

Presbyterians in the House were forward to do And Cromwell to lull the Parliament called God to witness that he was sure the army would at their command, disband and cast their arms at their feet and he again solemnly swore, that he had rather himself and his whole family should be consumed than that the army should break out into sedition The army however did not throw down their arms but finding that (as they said) all they were to get for these victories was a piece of paper and that Parliament intended to make itself perpetual they marched on London and in the end headed by Cromwell turned the Parliament out of doors

¹ Sir Roger L'Estrange has put this into the moral of his Fable (No 61) 'that in a certain place the people were *only sworn* not to dress meat in Lent and so might do what they pleased but says the speaker, for us who are *bound* that would be our undoing

² *Expedient* was a term often used by the sectaries When the members of the Council of State engaged to approve of what should be done by the Commons in Parliament for the future, it was ordered to draw up an *expedient* for the Members to subscribe

³ It was usual to pledge the Public Faith as they called it by which they meant the credit of Parliament or their own promises for monies borrowed, and many times never repaid Ralph argues that if the public faith be broken with impunity, private faith could not be considered binding

⁴ 'Resolved that the Public Faith be buried in everlasting forgetfulness, and that John Goodwin do preach its funeral sermon from Tothill Fields to Whitechapel says Sir John Bukenhead in his Paul's Church Yard (Cent 3, p 20)

⁵ The reference is to 1 Timothy 1 9 "Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man but for the lawless and disobedient And Colonel Overton averred that the Presbyterians held this literally

But to confine the bad and sinful
 Like mortal cattle in a pinfold -00
 A saint's of th' heavenly realm a peer ¹
 And as no peer is bound to swear
 But on the gospel of his honour
 Of which he may dispose as owner
 It follows tho' the thing be forgery 205
 And false th' affirm it is no perjury
 But a mere ceremony and a breach
 Of nothing but a form of speech
 And goes for no more when tis took
 Than mere saluting of the book ² 210
 Suppose the Scriptures are of force
 They're but commissions of course ³
 And saints have freedom 'o dress
 But vary from 'em as they please
 Or misinterpret them by private 215
 Instructions to all aims they drive it
 Then why should we ourselves abridge
 And curtail our own privilege ⁴
 Quakers that like to lanterns bear
 Their light within them will not swear 220
 Their gospel is an accident
 By which they construe conscience ⁴
 And hold no sin so deeply red
 As that of breaking Priscian's head,⁵

¹ Butler cleverly puts this two edged sarcasm into the mouth of one of those who turned out the peers

² As one in a fable of L'Estrange (pt 2 fab 227) says—For the swearing what signifies the kissing of a book with a calves skin cover and a pasteboard stuffing betwixt a man's lips and the text?

³ This is they strained the interpretation of Scripture to their own purposes, just as the Parliament officers took the liberty of disobeying their commissions on pretence of private instructions or expediency. They professed their conscience to be the rule and symbol of their faith says Clement Walker 'and to this they conform the Scriptures not their consciences to the Scriptures setting the sun dial by the clock not the clock by the sun dial

⁴ The Quakers interpret Scripture literally and also insist upon correctly using *thou* in the singular number instead of the plural *you* whence Butler charges them with turning the gospel into an English Grammar, and regarding an ungrammatical conventionality as a great offence

⁵ Priscian being the acknowledged authority if not the founder of grammar

The head and founder of their order, 225
 That stirring hats held worse than murder,¹
 These thinking they re oblig'd to troth
 In swearing will not take an oath,
 Like mules, who if they ve not the will
 To keep their own pace stand stock still,² 230
 But they are weak and little know
 What free born consciences may do
 'Tis the temptation of the devil
 That makes all human actions evil
 For saints may do the same thing by 235
 The spirit, in sincerity,
 Which other men are tempted to,
 And at the devil's instance do,
 And yet the actions be contrary
 Just as the saints and wicked vary 240
 For as on land there is no beast
 But in some fish at sea's exprest³
 So in the wicked there's no vice
 Of which the saints have not a spice
 And yet that thing that's pious in 245
 The one, in the other is a sin⁴

mar it is said to break his head to use false grammar that is *you* in the singular number George Fox the founder of the order of Quakers, may be regarded as their Priscian He wrote what may be called an accidence entitled A Battle Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Plural and Singular 1660 folio

¹ Nash thinks that the poet humorously supposes Priscian, who received so many blows on the head to be exceedingly averse to taking off his hat and therefore calls him the founder of Quakerism

² A merry fellow says Bishop Parker finding all force and proclamations vain for the dispersion of a conventicle hit upon the stratagem of proclaiming in the king's name that none should depart without his leave where upon every one went away that it might not be said they obeyed any man

³ Thus Dubartas

So many fishes of so many features,
 That in the waters we may see all creatures
 Even all that on the earth are to be found
 As if the world were in deep waters drown'd

This was one of the whimsical speculations with which the curious entertained themselves before the existence of scientific natural history See Sir Thomas Browne Vulgar Errors (Bohn's edit p 344)

⁴ The Antinomian principle was that believers or persons regenerate

Is t not ridiculous and nonsense
 A saint should be a slave to conscience ?
 That ought to be above such fancies
 As far as above ordinances ? ¹ 250
 She s of the wicked as I guess ²
 B her looks her language and her dress
 And tho like constables we search
 For false wares one another s church
 Yet all of us hold this for true 255
 No faith is to the wicked due ³
 For truth is precious and divine
 Too rich a pearl for carnal swine
 Quoth Hudibras All this is true
 Yet tis not fit that all men knew 260
 Those mysteries and revelations ⁴
 And therefore topical evasions
 Of subtle turns and shifts of sense
 Serve best with th wicked for pretence
 Such as the learned Jesuits use ⁵ 265
 And Presbyterians for excuse

could not sin though they committed the same acts which were sins in others or in other words that the condition of the person determined the character of his acts and made them good or bad and not the acts which displayed the character of the man so that one not previously wicked could commit no wickedness

¹ Some sectaries especially the Seekers and Muggletonians thought themselves so sure of salvation that they deemed it needless to conform to ordinances human or divine

² Hence it may be concluded that the widow was a royalist

³ This is the famous popish maxim *Nulla fides senza hereticis* here attributed to the puritan sectaries Ralph suspecting the widow to be a royalist insinuates that it is not necessary to keep faith with her

⁴ Private or *esoteric* doctrines which may be called mysterious mean that what is publicly professed and taught is not what the teachers mean

⁵ Mr Foulis tells a good story about Jesuitical evasions a little before the death of Queen Elizabeth when the Jesuits were endeavouring to set aside King James a little book was written entitled a Treatise on Equivocation which was afterwards called by Garnet Provincial of the Jesuits a Treatise against Lying and Dissimulation which contained the following example In time of the plague a man goes to Coventry at the gates he is examined upon oath whether he came from London the traveller, though he directly came from thence may swear positively that he did not because he knows himself not infected and does not endanger Coventry which he

Against the Protestants when th happen
 To find their churches taken napping
 As thus ¹ breach of oath is duple
 And either way admits a scruple 270
 And may be *ex parte* of the maker
 More criminal than the injur'd taker,
 For he that strains too far a vow
 Will break it like an o'er bent bow
 And he that made, and forc'd it broke it, 275
 Not he that for convenience took it
 A broken oath is *quatenus* oath
 As sound to all purposes of troth
 As broken laws are ne'er the worse,
 Nay, till they're broken, have no force 280
 What's justice to a man, or laws
 That never comes within their claws?
 They have no power but to admonish,
 Cannot control, coerce, or punish,
 Untill they're broken and then touch 285
 Those only that do make them such
 Beside, no engagement is allow'd
 By men in prison made for good,¹
 For when they're set at liberty
 They're from th' engagement too set free 290
 The Rabbins write, when any Jew
 Did make to God or man a vow,
 Which afterwards he found untoward
 And stubborn to be kept or too hard
 Any three other Jews o' th' nation 295
 Might free him from the obligation ²

supposes to answer the final intent of the demand. The MS was seized by Sir Edward Coke in Sir Thomas Tresham's chamber, in the Inner Temple and is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS Laud E 45 with the attestation in Sir Edward Coke's handwriting 5 December 1605 and the following motto *Os quod mentitur occidit animam*

¹ See the history of the Treaty of Newport with Charles I, for ample proof of the employment of this mode of reasoning

² There is a traditional doctrine among the Jews, which *Maimonides* asserts to have come down from Moses though not in the written law that if any person has made a vow which he afterwards wishes to recall he may go to a Rabbi or three other men and if he can prove to them that no injury will be sustained by any one, they may free him from its obligation

And have not two saints power to use
 A greater privilege than three Jews ?¹
 The court of conscience which in man
 Should be supreme and sovereign 300
 Is t fit should be subordinate
 To ev ry petty court 1 th state
 And have less power than the lesser
 To deal with perjury at pleasure ?
 Have its proceedings disallow d or 300
 Allow d, at fancy of Pie powder ?²
 Tell all it does or does not know,
 For swearing *ex officio* ?³
 Be forc d t impeach a broken hedge
 And pigs unrung d at *vis f anc* pledge ?⁴ 310
 Discover thieves and bawds recusants
 Priests witches eyes droppers and nuisance
 Tell who did play at games unlawful
 And who fill d pots of ale but half full
 And have no pow r at all nor shift 310
 To help itself at a dead lift ?

¹ Butler told one Mr Veal that by the two saints he meant Dr Downing and Mr Marshall who when some of the rebels had their lives spared on condition that they would not in future bear arms against the king were sent to dispense with the oath, and persuade them to enter again into the service

² The court of *pie powder* takes cognizance of such disputes as arise in fairs and markets and is so called from the old French word *pied poudreaux* which signifies a pedlar one who gets a livelihood without a fixed or certain residence See Blackstone's Commentaries In the borough laws of Scotland an alien merchant is called *pied poudreaux*

³ That is by taking the *ex officio* oath by which the parties were obliged to answer to interrogatories even if they criminated themselves In the conference 1604 one of the matters complained of was the *ex officio* oath The Lord Chancellor Lord Treasurer and Archbishop Whitgift defended the oath and the king gave a description of it laid down the grounds upon which it stood and justified the wisdom of the constitution

⁴ Frankpledge was an institution derived from the earliest Saxon times and based upon the principle of mutual responsibility By it Lords of the manor had the right of requiring surety of every free born man of the age of 14 for his good behaviour and they were bound for each other After the Conquest where frankpledge prevailed there were periodical meetings when it was put in exercise, and these were called the View of frankpledge (*visus francplegiu*) Selden says that the View of frankpledge was not wholly unknown in his time which shows the point of Butler's allusion to it See Blackstone and the Law Dictionaries

Why should not conscience have vacation
 As well as other courts o th nation ?
 Have equal power to adjourn
 Appoint appearance and return ? 320
 And make as nice distinctions serve
 To split a case as those that carve
 Invoking cuckolds names hit joints ?¹
 Why should not tricks as slight do points ?
 Is not th High Court of Justice sworn 325
 To just that law that serves their turn ?²
 Make their own jealousies high treason
 And fix them whomsoe er they please on ?
 Cannot the learned counsel there
 Make laws in any shape appear ? 330
 Mould em as witches do their clay,
 When they make pictures to destroy ?³
 And vex them into any form
 That fits their purpose to do harm ?
 Rack them until they do confess⁴ 335
 Impeach of treason whom they please,

¹ Our ancestors when they found a difficulty in carving a goose hare, or other dish used to say in jest that they should hit the joint if they could think of the name of a cuckold. Kyrle the man of Ross had always company to dine with him on market day, and a goose if it could be procured was one of the dishes which he claimed the privilege of carving himself. When any guest ignorant of the etiquette of the table offered to save him that trouble he would exclaim 'Hold your hand man if I am good for anything it is for hitting cuckolds joints. The British Apollo (vol. II No. 59, 1708) explains the origin of this saying to be "the equal celebrity of one Thomas Webb carver to the Lord Mayor in the days of Charles I. both in his office and as a cuckold."

² The High Court of Justice was first instituted for the trial of King Charles I., but its authority was afterwards extended in regard to some of his adherents to the year 1658. As it had no statute or precedents its determinations were based solely on what best served the turn. Walker says should they vote a turd to be a rose or Oliver's nose a ruby they expect we should swear it and fight for it, this legislative den of thieves create new courts of justice, neither founded upon law nor prescription.

³ It was supposed that witches by forming the image of any one in wax or clay and sticking pins into it or putting it to other torture, could cause the death of the person represented. Dr Dee records several such supposed enchantments.

⁴ It was one of the charges against the Parliament, that they had allowed the adherents of the king to be put to the rack in Ireland. The

And most perfidiously condemn
 Those that engag'd their lives for them ¹
 And yet do nothing in their own sense
 But what they ought by oath and conscience 340
 Can they not juggle and with slight
 Conveyance play with wrong and right
 And sell their blasts of wind as dear,²
 As Lapland witches bottled air ³
 Will not fear favour bribe, and grudge, 345
 The same case sev'ral ways adjudge ⁴
 As seamen, with the self same gale
 Will sev'ral different courses sail
 As when the sea breaks o'er its bounds ⁴
 And overflows the level grounds 350
 Those banks and dams that like a screen
 Did keep it out now keep it in
 So when tyrannical usurpation ⁵
 Invades the freedom of a nation
 The laws o' th' land that were intended 355
 To keep it out are made defend it
 Does not in Chancery ev'ry man swear
 What makes best for him in his answer ⁶

soldiers were said to have used torture to gentlemen's servants in order to extort information concerning their masters' property

¹ This they did in many instances the most remarkable were those of Sir John Hoitham and his son who were condemned notwithstanding that they had previously shut the gates of Hull against the King and the case of Sir Alexander Carew

² That is their breath their pleading their arguments

³ The witches in Lapland pretended to sell bags of wind to the sailors which would carry them to whatever quarter they pleased See Olaus Magnus

⁴ This simile may be found in prose in Butler's Remains vol. 1 p. 298 "For as when the sea breaks over its bounds and overflows the land, those dams and banks that were made to keep it out do afterwards serve to keep it in so when tyranny and usurpation break in upon the common right and freedom the laws of God and of the land are abused to support that which they were intended to oppose

⁵ Var Tyrannick usurpation after 1700

⁶ A hit at the common forms of Chancery practice But Grey thinks the poet has in mind the joke propagated by Sir Roger L. Estrange Fable 61

⁷ A gentleman that had a suit in Chancery was called upon by his counsel to put in his answer for fear of incurring a contempt Well says the Cavalier and why is not my answer put in then? How should I draw your

Is not the winding up witnesses ¹
 And nicking more than half the bus ness ? 360
 For witnesses like watches, go
 Just as they re set too fast or slow,
 And where in conscience they re strait lac d,
 'Tis ten to one that side is cast
 Do not your juries give their verdict 365
 As if they felt the cause not heard it ?
 And as they please make matter o fact
 Run all on one side as they re packt ?
 Nature has made man s breast no windores,
 To publish what he does within doors, 370
 Nor what dark secrets there inhabit,
 Unless his own rash folly blab it
 If oaths can do a man no good
 In his own bus ness why they shou d
 In other matters do him hurt 375
 I think there s little reason for t
 He that imposes an oath makes it ²
 Not he that for convenience takes it
 Then how can any man be said
 To break an oath he never made ? 380
 These reasons may perhaps look oddlv
 To th wicked tho they evince the godly
 But if they will not serve to clear
 My honour I am ne er the near
 Honour is like that glassy bubble 385
 That finds philosophers such trouble,
 Whose least part crack d the whole does fly,
 And wits are crack d to find out why ³

answer saith the Lawyer without knowing what you can swear ? Pox on your scruples says the client again pray do your part of a lawyer and draw me a sufficient answer and let me alone to do the part of a gentleman and swear it

¹ These lines, thanks to the vitality of English law, are as severely satirical now as they were two hundred years ago

² This and the following are two of the best remembered and oftenest quoted lines of Hudibras See line 275, above, where the same thought is expressed

³ This glassy bubble is the well known Prince Rupert s drop so called because the prince first introduced the knowledge of it to this country It is of common glass, in size and shape like the accompanying figure, and

Quoth Ralpho Honour s but a word
 To swear by only in a lord ¹ 390
 In other men tis but a huff
 To vapour with instead of proof
 That like a wen lool s big and swells
 Is senseless and just nothing else ²
 Let it quoth he be what it will 395
 It has the world s opinion still
 But as men are not wise that run
 The slightest hazard they may shun
 There may a medium be found out
 To clear to all the world the doubt 400
 And that is if a man may do t
 By proxy whipp d or substitute ³
 Though nice and dark the point appear
 Quoth Ralph it may hold up and clear
 That sinners may supply the place 405
 Of suffering sunts is a plain case
 Justice gives sentence many times
 On one man for another s crimes

its peculiar properties are that it will sustain without injury very heavy blows upon the body D E but if broken at B or C the whole drop will burst into powder with great violence If the tip A be broken off the



bubble will not burst They are described in Beckmann s History of Inventions (Bohn s Edit vol ii p 241 &c) The cause of their peculiarities rendered them a great puzzle to the curious

¹ Peers when they give judgment are not sworn they say only upon my honour See lines 262 263 above

² Ralpho was much of Falstaff s opinion with regard to honour See Henry IV Part I Act v sc 1

³ We are told in the Tatler No 92 that pages are chastised for the admonition of princes See an account of Mr Murray of the bed chamber who was whipping boy to King Charles I in Burnet s Own Times (Bohn s edit p 99) Henry IV of France when absolved of his excommunication and heresy by Pope Clement VIII received chastisement in the persons of his representatives Messrs D Ossat and Du Perron after ward Cardinals

Our brethren of New England use
 Choice malefactors to excuse ¹ 410
 And hang the guiltless in their stead
 Of whom the churches have less need
 As lately t happen d in a town
 There liv d a cobbler and but one
 That out of doctrine could cut use 415
 And mend men s lives as well as shoes
 This precious brother having slain,
 In times of peace an Indian
 Not out of malice, but mere zeal ²
 Because he was an infidel 420
 The mighty Tottipotimoy ³
 Sent to our elders an envoy
 Complaining sorely of the breach
 Of league held forth by brother Patch,
 Against the articles in force 425
 Between both churches his and ours,
 For which he crav d the saints to render
 Into his hands or hang th offender
 But they maturely having weigh d
 They had no more but him o th trade 430
 A man that serv d them in a double
 Capacity to teach and cobbler,
 Resolv d to spare him yet to do
 The Indian Hoghan Moghan too

¹ This story is asserted to be true in the note subjoined to the early editions. A similar one is related by Grey from Morton's *English Canaan* printed 1637. A lusty young fellow was condemned to be hanged for stealing corn, but it was formally proposed in council to execute a bed-ridden old man in the offender's clothes which would satisfy appearances, and preserve a useful member to society. Grey mentions likewise a letter from the committee of Stafford to Speaker Lenthall, dated Aug 5, 1645, desiring a respite for Henry Steward a soldier under the governor of Hartlebury Castle and offering two Irishmen to be executed in his stead. Ralpho calls them his brethren of New England, because the inhabitants there were generally Independents.

² Just so says Grey. Ap Evans acted, who murdered his mother and his brother for kneeling at the Sacrament alleging that this was idolatry.

³ This is not a real name but merely a ludicrous imitation of the sonorous appellations of the Indian Sachems as is the other name in line 434, below.

Impartial justice, in his stead did 435
 Hang an old weaver that was bed rid
 Then wherefore may not you be skip d,
 And in your room another whipp d?
 For all philosophers but the Sceptic,¹
 Hold whipping may be sympathetic 440
 It is enough quoth Hudibras
 Thou hast resolv d and clear d the case,
 And canst in conscience not refuse
 From thy own doctrine to raise use ²
 I know thou wilt not for my sake 445
 Be tender conscienc d of thy back
 Then strip thee of thy carnal jerkin,
 And give thy outward fellow a firking,
 For when thy vessel is new hoop d,
 All leaks of sinning will be stopp d 450
 Quoth Ralpho You mistal e the matter
 For in all scruples of this nature
 No man includes himself nor turns
 The point upon his own concerns
 As no man of his own self catches 455
 The itch or amorous French aches ³
 So no man does himself convince,
 By his own doctrine of his sins
 And though all cry down self none means
 His own self in a literal sense 460
 Besides it is not only foppish
 But vile idolatrous and popish
 For one man out of his own skin
 To firke and whip another s sin ⁴

¹ The Sceptics who held that certainty was not attainable on any subject, and doubted sensation altogether are here wittily satirized as refusing to assent to Ralpho's doctrine of sympathetic whipping. The philosophers who believed in it were Sir Kenelm Digby often the theme of Butler's banter and some then credulous members of the Royal Society

² A favourite expression of the sectaries of those days

³ The old pronunciation of this word was *atches* and the late John Kemble to the day of his death insisted on so pronouncing it, for which he was frequently ridiculed

⁴ A banter on the popish doctrine of satisfaction and supererogation

As pedants out of school boys breeches 465
 Do claw and curry their own itches ¹
 But in this case it is profane
 And sinful too because in vain
 For we must take our oaths upon it
 You d d the deed when I have done it 470
 Quoth Hudibras That s answer d soon
 Give us the whip we ll lay it on
 Quoth Ralpho That you may swear true,
 Twere properer that I whipp d you
 For when with your consent tis done, 475
 The act is really your own
 Quoth Hudibras It is in vain
 I see to argue ganst the grain
 Or like the stars incline men to
 What they re averse themselves to do 480
 For when disputes are weary d out,
 Tis interest still resolves the doubt
 But since no reason can confute ye,
 I ll try to force you to your duty
 For so it is howe er you mince it, 485
 As ere we part I shall evince it,
 And curry if you stand out whether ²
 You will or no your stubborn leather
 Canst thou refuse to bear thy part
 I th public work base as thou art ³ 490
 To higgle thus for a few blows ³
 To gain thy Knight an op lent spouse
 Whose wealth his bowels yearn to purchase,
 Merely for th int rest of the churches ⁴
 And when he has it in his claws 495
 Will not be hide bound to the Cause

¹ In Spectator No 157 are to be found remarks illustrative of this peculiarity of pedagogues

² Grey observes that a contest between Don Quixote and his renowned squire appears to have furnished the pattern for this amusing falling out (see chaps 35 and 60) But there is more intellectual subtlety in the argumentation of Butler s heroes than in the Don and Sancho

³ See Don Quixote chap 68, for the like reproaches administered by the knight to his squire

Nor shalt thou find him a curmudgin ¹
 If thou dispatch it without grudging
 If not resolve before we go
 That you and I must pull a crow ² 500
 Ye ad best quoth Ralpho as the ancients ³
 Say wisely have a care o th main chance
 And look before you ere you leap
 For as you sow y are like to reap
 And were y as good as George a green ⁴ 505
 I should make bold to turn agen
 Nor am I doubtful of the issue
 In a just quarrel as mine is so
 Is t fitting for a man of honour
 To whip the saints like Bishop Bonner ⁵ 510
 A knight t usurp the beadle s office
 For which y are like to raise brave trophies
 But I advise you not to fear
 But for your own sake to forbear
 And for the churches which may chance 515
 From hence, to spring a variance,
 And raise among themselves new scruples
 Whom common danger hardly couples
 Remember how in arms and politics
 We still have worsted all your holy tricks ⁶ 520

¹ A niggardly churl The derivation from *cœur méchant* obtained by Dr Johnson from an unknown correspondent and Ash s mistake in assuming this signature to be a translation of the French words is one of the best etymological jokes extant

² See Handbook of Proverbs p 155

³ Ralpho, like Sancho deals largely in proverbs —these are found and explained in Handbook of Proverbs pp 113 323

⁴ This is no other than the Pinder of Wakefield who fought and beat Robin Hood Scarlet and Little John all three together See Robin Hood s Garland The Pinder was no outlaw as Nash supposes but an officer to enforce the law being the keeper of the parish pound.

⁵ Bishop of London in the reign of Queen Mary who is said to have whipped the Protestants imprisoned on account of their faith with his own hands till he was tired with the violence of the exercise Hume s History of Mary p 378 Fox Acts and Monuments ed 1576 p 1937

⁶ The Independents by their dexterity in intrigue and getting the army on their side outwitted and overpowered the Presbyterians who intended simply to instal themselves in the place of the Church of England These lines record, for the most part, plain and well known historical facts See Burnet and others

Trepann'd your party with intrigue,
 And took your grandees down a peg
 New modell'd the army, and cashier'd
 All that to Legion Smec adher'd,¹
 Made a mere utensil o' your church, 520
 And after left it in the lurch
 A scaffold to build up our own,
 And when w^e had done with t^h, pull'd it down,
 Capoch'd² your rabbins of the Synod³
 And snapp'd their canons with a why not 530
 Grave synod men, that were rever'd
 For solid face, and depth of beard,
 Their Classic model prov'd a maggot,
 Their Directry an Indian pagod,⁴
 And drown'd their discipline like a kitten 535
 On which they'd been so long a sitting,⁵
 Decry'd it as a holy cheat,
 Grown out of date and obsolete
 And all the saints of the first grass,⁶
 As castling foals of Balaam's ass 540
 At this the Knight grew high in chafe,
 And staring furiously on Ralph,
 He trembled and look'd pale with ire,⁷
 Like ashes first, then red as fire

¹ See above p. 124 for an explanation of the term Smectymnus. The majority originally in favour of Presbyterianism which was overthrown by the Independents is ridiculed under the name of Legion.

² So in the first editions afterwards altered by Butler to *O'er reach'd* and again restored. *Capoch'd* means hoodwinked. Why not is a fanciful term used in Butler's Remains vol. 1 p. 178 and signifies the obliging a man to yield his assent.

³ The *e* were the Assembly of Divines whose work was almost all un-done by the supremacy of the Independents.

⁴ The Directory was a book drawn up by the Assembly of Divines (120 Divines and 30 Laymen) and published by authority of Parliament containing instructions to their ministers for the regulation of public worship. It became a mere curiosity when the Independents set up freedom of worship.

⁵ That is from July 1 1643 their first meeting to August 28 1648 when their discipline by classes was established. The Divines of the Assembly being paid by the day are presumed to have had an interest in prolonging their work.

⁶ The Presbyterians the first sectaries that sprang up and opposed the established church.

These two lines are not in the first editions but were added in 1674.

Have I quoth he, been ta'en in fight 545
 And for so many moons lain by t
 And when all other means did fail
 Have been exchang'd for tubs of ale ¹
 Not but they thought me worth a ransom
 Much more consid'rab'le and handsome 550
 But for their own sakes and for fear
 They were not safe when I was there
 Now to be baffled by a scoundrel
 An upstart sect'ry and a mungrel ²
 Such as breed out of peccant humours 555
 Of our own church like wens or tumours
 And like a maggot in a sore
 Wou'd that which gave it life devour
 It never shall be done or said
 With that he seiz'd upon his blade ³ 560
 And Ralpho too as quick and bold
 Upon his basket hilt laid hold
 With equal readiness prepar'd
 To draw and stand upon his guard
 When both were parted on the sudden 565
 With hideous clamour, and a loud one
 As if all sorts of noise had been
 Contracted into one loud din,
 Or that some Member to be chosen
 Had got the odds above a thousand 570
 And by the greatness of his noise
 Prov'd fittest for his country's choice

¹ A contemporary note on these lines quoted by Grey says 'The Knight was kept prisoner in Exeter and after several changes proposed, but none accepted was at last released for a barrel of ale as he used upon all occasions to declare. This identifies Hudibras with a living original, as summed to be Sir Samuel Luke

² Thus Don Quixote to Sancho "How now opprobrious rascal! stinking garlic eater! sirrah I will take you and tie your dogship to a tree as naked as your mother bore you. See note on lines 187 &c

³ Grey compares this scene to the contest between Brutus and Cassius in Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar Act iv. History relates that the quarrel between the Presbyterians and the Independents proceeded beyond the mere clapping of hand to sword. And Cromwell's victories all of which were summed up in Dunbar fight, were the proof of what Ralpho's basket hilt could do in such a case

This strange surprisal put the Knight
 And wrathful Squire into a fright,
 And tho they stood prepar d with fatal 570
 Impetuous rancour, to join battle
 Both thought it was the wisest course
 To wave the fight and mount to horse,
 And to secure by swift retreating
 Themselves from danger of worse beating 580
 Yet neither of them would disparage
 By utt ring of his mind his courage
 Which made them stoutly keep their ground,
 With horror and disdain wmd bound
 And now the cause of all their fear¹ 585
 By slow degrees approach d so near
 They might distinguish different noise²
 Of horns and pans and dogs, and boys,
 And kettle drums, whose sullen dub
 Sounds like the hooping of a tub 590
 But when the sight appear d in view
 They found it was an antique show
 A triumph that for pomp and state
 Did proudest Romans emulate³
 For as the aldermen of Rome 595
 Their foes at training overcome,
 And not enlarging territory
 As some, mistaken write in story⁴

¹ The poet does not suffer his heroes to proceed to open violence but ingeniously puts an end to the dispute by introducing them to a new adventure The drollery of the following scene is inimitable

² *Var* "They might discern respective noise in editions of 1664

³ The Skimmington a ludicrous cavalcade in derision of a husband's submitting to be beaten by his wife It consisted generally of a man riding behind a woman with his face to the horse's rump holding a distaff in his hand the woman all the while belabouring him with a ladle The learned reader will be amused by comparing this description with the pompous account of Æmilius's triumph, as described by Plutarch and the satirical one given by Juvenal in his tenth Satire The details of the Skimmington are so accurately described by the poet that he must have derived them from actual observation See a full account of it in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* vol. ii p. 180 (Bohn's edition)

⁴ Our poet mixes up together the ceremonies of enlarging the Pomercium, a Roman triumph a lord mayor's show the exercising of the train bands, and a borough election in the most wanton spirit of burlesque poetry ❧

Being mounted in their best array,
 Upon a car and who but they ? 600
 And follow'd with a world of tall lads
 That merry ditties troll'd and ballads,¹
 Did ride with many a good morrow
 Crying Hey for our town thro' the borough,
 So when this triumph drew so nigh 605
 They might particulars descry,
 They never saw two things so pat,
 In all respects as this and that
 First he that led the cavalcade²
 Wore a sow gelder's flagellate 610
 On which he blew as strong a levett³
 As well feed lawyer on his brevete
 When over one another's heads
 They charge three ranks at once like Sweads⁴ 615
 Next pans and kettles of all keys
 From trebles down to double base
 And after them upon a nag
 That might pass for a fore hand stag
 A cornet rode and on his staff
 A smock display'd did proudly wave 620
 Then bagpipes of the loudest drones,
 With snuffing broken winded tones
 Whose blasts of air in pockets shut
 Sound filthier than from the gut
 And make a viler noise than swine 625
 In windy weather when they whine

¹ The vulgar and the soldiers themselves, had at triumphal processions the liberty of abusing their general. Their invectives were commonly conveyed in metre. See Suetonius Life of Julius Cæsar, p. 33 (Bohn's edition).

² The words at the end of this and the next line were altered subsequently into *cavalcade* and *flagellet* to the marring of the rhyme.

³ Levett is a blast on the trumpet at a reveille which used to be sounded morning and evening on shipboard.

⁴ This and the preceding line were added in 1674. Butler has departed from the common method of spelling the word Swedes for the sake of rhyme in the edition of 1689 after his death it was printed Sweeds. The Swedes appear to have been the first who practised firing by two or three ranks at a time over each others heads see Sir Robert Monro's Memoirs and Bariff's Young Artillery man. The Swedes, under Gustavus Adolphus were the most famous soldiers of Europe.

Next one upon a pair of panniers
 Full fraught with that which, for good manners,
 Shall here be nameless, mix'd with grains,
 Which he dispens'd among the swans, 630
 And busily upon the crowd
 At random round about bestow'd
 Then mounted on a horned horse,
 One bore a gauntlet and gilt spurs,
 Ty'd to the pommel of a long sword 635
 He held revers'd the point turn'd downward
 Next after, on a raw bon'd steed
 The conqueror's standard bearer rid,
 And bore aloft before the champion
 A petticoat display'd and rampant,¹ 640
 Near whom the Amazon triumphant,
 Bestrid her beast, and on the rump on't
 Sat face to tail and bum to bum,
 The warrior whilom overcome
 Arm'd with a spindle and a distaff, 645
 Which as he rode, she made him twist off,
 And when he loiter'd, o'er her shoulder
 Chastised the reformado soldier²
 Before the dame, and round about,
 March'd whiffers and staffers on foot,³ 650
 With lackies grooms, valets, and pages
 In fit and proper equipages,
 Of whom some torches bore some links,
 Before the proud virago minx
 That was both madam and a don⁴ 655
 Luke Nero's Spor⁵, or Pope Joan

¹ Ridiculing the terms in which heralds blazon coats of arms

² See note on line 116, above

³ "A mighty whiffer fore the king seems to prepare his way Henry V. Act v, chorus There were whiffers formerly amongst the inferior officers of the corporation at Norwich Their duty in recent times (before the date of the Municipal Reform Act) was to clear the way before his Worship as he went to church on Guild day which they did by running and bounding about whirling all the time with incredible agility a huge blunt, two handled sword The whiffers who now attend the London companies in processions are standard bearers and freemen carrying staves Staffier is a staff bearer or running footman, from the French *Estayer*

⁴ Mistress and master

⁵ See Suetonius Life of Nero, for the particulars of his marriage with

And at fit periods the whole rout
 Set up their throats with clam'rous shout
 The Knight transported and the Squire
 Put up their weapons and their ire 660
 And Hudibras who us'd to ponder
 On such sights with judicious wonder,
 Could hold no longer to impart
 His an' madversions for his heart
 Quoth he In all my life till now 665
 I ne'er saw so profane a show ¹
 It is a paganish invention
 Which heathen writers often mention
 And he who made it had read Goodwin ²
 Or Ross or Cælius Rhodogine ³ 670
 With all the Grecian Speeds and Stows ⁴
 That best describe those ancient shows
 And has observ'd all fit decorums
 We find describ'd by old historians ⁵

sporus after he had been gelded (Bohn's transl. p. 357) The story of Pope Joan is too well known to need repetition. But see notes on the subject in ribbon (Bohn's edition) vol. v. p. 420.

¹ The Knight's learning leads him to see in this burlesque procession nothing but paganism, which he as a reformer is bound to put an end to at once.

² Thomas Goodwin was a high Calvinistic Independent who dissatisfied with the terms of nonconformity in England became for some years Pastor of an Independent congregation at Arnheim in Holland. On his return to England he was elected one of the Assembly of Divines and in 1649 president of Magdalen College Oxford. At the Restoration he was ejected and died in 1679. It is however probable that Butler means Dr Thomas Godwyn who wrote a celebrated manual of Hebrew Antiquities entitled 'Moses and Aaron' Oxford 1616 and another on Roman Antiquities, published Oxford 1613 both of which went through many editions.

³ In the edition of 1674 altered to

I warrant him and understood him

But the older line was restored in 1704. The name of Ross has occurred more than once before. Ludovicus Cælius Rhodoginus (I. C. Richiæni) was born at Rovigo about 1460 and published a voluminous and learned miscellany called *Lectiones Antiquæ* of which one of the editions was printed by Aldus in 1516. He died in 1525.

⁴ Speed and Stowe are celebrated English chroniclers. By Grecian Speeds and Stows he means any ancient authors who have explained the antiquities and customs of Greece.

⁵ This is an imperfect rhyme but in English to an ear not critically acute, *m* and *n* sound alike. So the old sayings among the common people taken for rhyme — A stitch in time saves nine. Tread on a worm and it will turn.

For, as the Roman conqueror, 670
 That put an end to foreign war
 Ent ring the town in triumph for it,
 Bore a slave with him in his chariot ¹
 So this insulting female brave
 Carries behind her here a slave 680
 And as the ancients long ago,
 When they in field defy'd the foe
 Hung out their mantles *della guerre*,²
 So her proud standard bearer here
 Waves on his spear, in dreadful manner, 685
 A Tyrian petticoat for banner ³
 Next links and torches, heretofore
 Still borne before the emperor
 And, as in antique triumphs, eggs
 Were borne for mystical intrigues, ⁴ 690
 There's one with truncheon, like a ladle
 That carries eggs too fresh or adle
 And still at random as he goes,
 Among the rabble rout bestows
 Quoth Ralpho, You mistake the matter, 695
 For all th' antiquity you smatter
 Is but a riding, us'd of course
 When the grey mare's the better horse, ⁵
 When o'er the breeches greedy women
 Fight to extend their vast dominion, 700
 And in the cause impatient Grizel
 Has drubb'd her husband with bull's pizzle,
 And brought him under *covert baron*,⁶
 To turn her vassal with a murrain

¹ See Juv. Sat. x. 42 (Bohn's transl., pp. 105 and 443)

² The red flag which has always been taken as a menace of battle *à l'outrance*

³ A scarlet petticoat then worn so commonly. Butler has in mind the ancient poets who are loud in their praise of Tyrian vestments especially Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius

⁴ In the orgies of Bacchus and the games of Ceres eggs were carried and had a mystical import. In the edition of 1689, and some others antique is spelt antick and perhaps was intended to signify 'mimic,' as well as ancient which is the more probable, as eggs were never used on real triumphs

⁵ Handbook of Proverbs p. 170

⁶ The wife is said in law to be *covert baron* or under the protection and influence of her husband her lord and baron

When wives their sexes shift, like hares ¹ 700
 And ride their husbands like night mares
 And they in mortal battle vanquish'd
 Are of their charter disenfranchis'd
 And by the right of war like gills ²
 Condemn'd to distaff, horns and wheels ³ 710
 For when men by their wives are cow'd,
 Their horns of course are understood
 Quoth Hudibras Thou still giv'st sentence
 Impertinently and against sense
 'Tis not the least disparagement 715
 To be defeated by th' event
 Nor to be beaten by main force
 That does not make a man the worse
 Altho' his shoulders with battoon
 Be claw'd and cudgell'd to some tune 720
 A tailor's prentice has no hard
 Measure that's bang'd with a true yard
 But to turn tail or run away
 And without blows give up the day
 Or to surrender ere the assault, 725
 That's no man's fortune, but his fault,
 And renders men of honour less
 Than all th' adversity of success
 And only unto such this show
 Of horns and petticoats is due 730
 There is a lesser profanation
 Like that the Romans call'd ovation

¹ Many have been the vulgar errors concerning the sexes of hares some of the elder naturalists pretending that they changed them annually others that hares were hermaphrodite See Browne's *Vulgar Errors* b m c 17 But our poet here chiefly means to ridicule Dr Bulwer's *Artificial Change* ling p 407 who cites the female patriarch of Greece, and Pope Joan of Rome

² Gill in the Scotch and Irish dialect a girl in Wright's *Glossary* one of the significations is 'a wanton wench' and so Ben Jonson in his *Gipsies Metamorphosed*, uses it 'Give you all your fill—each Jack with his Gill'

³ "Wheels here are spinning wheels and not those of timber gills or drays

⁴ At the greater triumph the Romans sacrificed an ox at the lesser a sheep Hence the name ovation

For as ovation was allow'd
 For conquest purchas'd without blood,
 So men decree those lesser shows 730
 For vict'ry gotten without blows
 By dint of sharp hard words which some
 Give battle with and overcome
 These mounted in a chair curule
 Which moderns call a cucking stool ¹ 740
 March proudly to the river's side
 And o'er the waves in triumph ride
 Like dukes of Venice who are said
 The Adriatic sea to wed, ²
 And have a gentler wife than those 745
 For whom the state decrees those shows
 But both are heathenish, and come
 From th' whores of Babylon and Rome,
 And by the saints should be withstood,
 As antichristian and lewd 750
 And we, as such, should now contribute
 Our utmost strugglings to prohibit ⁴
 This said they both advanc'd ⁵ and rode
 A dog trot through the bawling crowd
 To attack the leader, and still prest 755
 Till they approach'd him breast to breast
 Then Hudibras with face and hand,
 Made signs for silence which obtain'd,
 What means, quoth he, this devil's procession
 With men of orthodox profession? 760

¹ Also called ducking stool and other names. The custom of ducking female shrews in the water was common in many parts of England and Scotland. Such stools consisted of a chair affixed to the end of a long pole or lever by which it was immersed in the water, often some stinking pool. In some places the chair was suspended by a chain or a rope, and so lowered from a bridge. For a full account of this once legal practice see Brand's Popular Antiquities (Bohn's edit.) vol. iii. p. 103 et seq.

This ceremony is performed on Ascension day. It was instituted in 1174 by Pope Alexander III. who gave the Doge a gold ring from his finger in token of the victory achieved by the Venetian fleet over Barbarossa, desiring him to commemorate the event annually by throwing a circular ring into the Adriatic. The Doge throws a ring into the sea, while repeating the words 'Desponsamus te, mare in signum veri et perpetui domini'

² Butler intimates that the sea is less terrible than a scolding wife.

³ Strugglings was one of the cant terms for efforts.

⁵ Grey compares this advance of Hudibras and his squire to the attack

This ethnique and idolatrous,
 From heathenism deriv'd to us
 Does not the whore of Babylon ride
 Upon her horned beast astride
 Like this proud dame who either is 760
 A type of her or she of this?¹
 Are things of superstitious function
 Fit to be us'd in gospel sun shine?
 It is an antichristian *opera*¹
 Much us'd in midnight times of popery 770
 A running after self inventions
 Of wicked and profane intentions
 To scandalize that sex for scolding
 To whom the saints are so beholden
 Women who were our first apostles² 775
 Without whose aid we had all been lost else
 Women that left no stone unturn'd
 In which the Cause might be concern'd
 Brought in their children's spoons and whistles³
 To purchase swords carbines and pistols 780
 Their husbands, culches and sweethearts,
 To take the saints and church's parts

made upon the funeral procession by Don Quixote (Part I, book ii chap 5).

¹ By the use of this word which bore much the same meaning that it does now the knight not only proclaims his abhorrence of the Skimming-ton, but also the puritan hostility to musical and dramatic entertainments

² The author of the Ladies Calling observes in his preface It is a memorable attestation Christ gives to the piety of women by making them the first witnesses of his resurrection the prime evangelists to proclaim these glad tidings and as a learned man says apostles to the apostles Butler of course alludes to the zeal which the ladies manifested for the *good cause* The case of Lady Monson has already been mentioned The women and children worked with their own hands in fortifying the city of London, and other towns The women of Coventry went by companies to fill up the quarries in the great park that they might not harbour an enemy and being caded together with a drum marched into the park with mattocks and spades Annals of Coventry MS 1643

³ In the reign of Richard II A D 1382 Henry le Spencer bishop of Norwich, set up the cross and made a collection to support the cause of the enemies of Pope Clement to which it is said ladies and other women contributed just in the manner Hudibras describes See Part I Canto ii line 569, and note on line 561

Drew several gifted brethren in,
 That for the bishops would have been,
 And fix d them constant to the Party, 780
 With motives powerful and hearty
 Their husbands robb d and made hard shifts
 T administer unto their gifts
 All they could rap, and rend,¹ and pilfer,
 To scraps and ends of gold and silver, 790
 Rubb d down the teachers tir d and spent
 With holding forth for Parliament ²
 Pamper d and edify d their zeal
 With marrow puddings many a meal
 Enabled them with store of meat, 795
 On controverted points to eat ³
 And cramm d them till their guts did ache,
 With caudle custard and plum cake
 What have they done or what left undone,
 That might advance the Cause at London ? 800
 March d rani and file with drum and ensign,
 T entrench the city for defence in
 Rans d rampires with their own soft hands,⁴
 To put the enemy to stands,
 From ladies down to oyster wenches 805
 Labour d like pioneers in trenches,
 Fell to their pick axes and tools,
 And help d the men to dig like moles ?

¹ Var Rap and run in the first four editions

Dr Echard thus describes these preachers 'coiners of new phrases, drawers out of long godly words thick pourers out of texts of Scripture, mimical-squeakers and bellowers vain glorious admirers only of themselves and those of their own fashioned face and gesture such as these shall be followed and worshipped, shall have their bushels of China oranges shall be solaced with all manner of cordial essences and elixirs and shall be rubbed down with Holland of ten shillings an ell See also Spectator p 46

³ That is to eat plentifully of dainties of which they would sometimes controvert the lawfulness to eat at all

⁴ When London was expected to be attacked and in several sieges during the civil war the women, even the ladies of rank and fortune not only encouraged the men and supplied them handsomely with provisions, but worked with their own hands in digging and raising fortifications Lady Middlesex Lady Foster Lady Anne Waller, and Mrs Dunch have been particularly celebrated for their activity The Knight's learned harangue is here archly interrupted by the manual wit of one who hits him in the eye with a rotten egg

Have not the handmaids of the city ¹
 Chose of their members a committee 810
 For raising of a common purse
 Out of their wages to raise horse ²
 And do they not as triers sit ²
 To judge what officers are fit ²
 Have they—— At that an egg let fly 815
 Hit him directly o'er the eye
 And running down his cheek besmeared
 With orange tawny ³ slime his beard
 But beard and slime being of one hue
 The wound the less appeared in view 820
 Then he that on the panniers rode
 Let fly on the other side a load
 And quickly charged again gave fully
 In Ralpho's face another volley
 The Knight was startled with the smell 825
 And for his sword began to feel
 And Ralpho smothered with the stink
 Grasp'd his when one that bore a link
 O the sudden clapp'd his flaming cudgel
 Like linstock, to the horse's touch hole ⁴ 830
 And straight another with his *flambeau*
 Gave Ralpho o'er the eyes a damnd blow
 The beasts began to kick and fling
 And forc'd the rout to make a ring

¹ Handmaids was a favourite expression of the puritans for women

² This was the sneering statement of a satire called the 'Parliament of Ladies' printed in 1647. The writer says that divers weak persons having crept into places beyond their abilities the House determined to the end that men of greater parts might be put into their rooms that the Ladies Waller Middlesex Foster and Mrs Dunch by reason of their great experience in soldiery be appointed a *committee of tryers* for the business

³ Bottom the weaver (in *Mids Night's Dream*) might have suggested this epithet who asks in what beard he shall play the part of Pyramus?

whether in a perfect yellow beard an *orange tawny* beard or a purple in grape beard? Orange tawny was the colour adopted by the Parliament troops at first being the colours of Essex who was Lord general. It was otherwise assigned to Jews and to inferior persons. See Bacon Essay xli.

⁴ Linstock from the German *Linden-stock* (a lime tree cudgel), signifies the rod of wood with a match at the end of it used by gunners in firing cannon.

Thro' which they quickly broke their way, 835
 And brought them off from further fray,
 And tho disorder d in retreat,
 Each of them stoutly kept his seat,
 For quitting both their swords and reins,
 They grasp d with all their strength the manes, 840
 And to avoid the foe s pursuit
 With spurring put their cattle to t,
 And till all four were out of wind,
 And danger too neer look d behind ¹
 After they d paus d awhile supplying 845
 Their spirits, spent with fight and flying
 And Hudibras recruited force
 Of lungs, for action or discourse
 Quoth he, That man is sure to lose
 That fouls his hands with dirty foes 850
 For where no honour s to be gain'd
 Tis thrown away in be ng maintain'd
 'Twas ill for us we had to do
 With so dishon rable a foe
 For tho the law of arms doth bar 855
 The use of venom d shot in war ²
 Yet by the nauseous smell and noisome,
 Their case shot savours strong of poison
 And, doubtless have been chew d with teeth
 Of some that had a stinking breath, 860
 Else when we put it to the push,
 They had not giv n us such a brush
 But as those poltroons that fling dirt
 Do but defile, but cannot hurt,
 So all the honour they have won, 865
 Or we have lost, is much at one

¹ Presumed to be a sneer at the Earl of Argyll, who more than once fled from Montrose and never looked behind till he wa out of danger, as at Inverary in 1644 Inverlochie and Kilsyth and in like manner from Monro at Stirling Bridge where he did not look behind him till after eighteen miles hard riding he had reached the North Queen s ferry and possessed himself of a boat whence arose the saying— One pair of heels is worth two pairs of hands

² "Abusive language and fustian are as unfair in controversy as poison ed arrows or chewed bullets in battle

Twas well we made so resolute
 A brave retreat without pursuit ¹
 For if we had not we had sped
 Much worse to be in triumph led 870
 Than which the ancients held no state
 Of man's life more unfortunate
 But if this bold adventure e'er
 Do chance to reach the widow's ear
 It may being destin'd to assert 875
 Her sex's honour, reach her heart
 And as such homely treats they say,
 Portend good fortune ² so this may
 Vespasian being daub'd with dirt ³
 Was destin'd to the empire for t ⁴ 880
 And from a scavenger did come
 To be a mighty prince in Rome

¹ In both editions of 1664 this line ends '—t avoid pursuit

² The original of the coarse proverb here alluded to (Handbook of Proverbs p 131) was the glorious battle of Agincourt, when the English were so afflicted with the dysentery that most of them chose to fight naked from the girdle downward. It is thus cited in the Rump Songs vol II p 39

There's another proverb gives the Rump for his crest
 But Alderman Atkins made it a jest
 That of all kinds of luck shitten luck is the best

³ This and the five following lines were not in the two first editions, but were added in 1674

⁴ Suetonius in the Life of Vespasian sect v says 'When he was ædile Caligula being enraged at his not taking care to keep the streets clean ordered him to be covered with mud which the soldiers heaped up even into the bosom of his prætexta and there were not wanting those who foretold that at some time the state trodden down and neglected through civil discord would come into his guardianship or as it were into his bosom.' See Bohn's Suetonius p 446 But Dio Cassius with all his superstition acknowledges that the secret meaning of the circumstance was not discovered till after the event. Nash thinks that Butler might also have in view the following story told of Oliver Cromwell afterwards Lord Protector. When young he was invited by Sir Oliver Cromwell his uncle and god father, to some Christmas revels given for the entertainment of King James I., when indulging his love for fun he went to the ball with his hands and clothes besmeared with excrement to the great disgust of the company for which outrage the master of misrule ordered him to be ducked in the horsepond. Noble's Memoirs of the Cromwell Family vol I p 98, and Bate's Elenchus Motuum

And why may not this foul address
Presage in love the same success ?
Then let us straight to cleanse our wounds, 885
Advance in quest of nearest ponds
And after, as we first design d
Swear I ve perform d what she enjoin d ¹

¹ The Knight resolves to wash his face and foul his conscience he was no longer for reducing Ralpho to a whipping but for deceiving the widow by forswearing himself



PART II CANIO III



ARGUMENT

The Knight with various doubts possest
To win the Lady goes in quest
Of Sidrophel the Rosy crucian
To know the best nines resolution
With whom being met they both chop logic
About the science astrologic
Till falling from dispute to fight
The Conjurer is worsted by the Knight

PART II CANTO III¹



DOUBTLESS the pleasure is as great
Of being cheated as to cheat²
As lookers on f'el most delight
That least perceive a juggler's slight,
And still the less they understand
The more th' admire his slight of hand

Some with a noise and greasy light,
Are snapt, as men catch larks by night³
Ensna'r'd and hamper'd by the soul,
As nooses by the legs catch fowl⁴
Some with a med'cine and receipt,
Are drawn to nibble at the bait⁵

10

¹ As the subject of this canto is the dispute between Hudibras and an astrologer it is prefaced by some reflections on the credulity of men which exposes them to the artifices of cheats and impostors not only to such as lawyers physicians and divines but even astrologers wizards and fortune tellers Dr James Young in his *Sidrophel Vapulans* &c (p 35) tells a good tale of an astrologer begging Pope Gregory the Seventh (who encouraged his art) to assign it a patron saint and being left to choose for himself did so blindfold and laid his hand on the image of the Devil in combat with St Michael He does not say whether the astrologer was content or whether the Holy Father confirmed his choice

² This famous couplet is enlarged on by Swift in his *Tale of a Tub* in treating of the pleasures of mental delusion, where he says that the happiness of life consists in being well deceived

³ This alludes to the morning and evening lectures which, in those times of pretended reformation and godliness were delivered by candle light in many churches during a great part of the year To maintain and frequent these was deemed the greatest evidence of religion and sanctity The gifted preachers were very loud The simile is taken from the method of catching larks at night in some countries by means of a bell and a lanthorn that is by first alarming them and then blinding them with a light so that they are easily caught

⁴ Woodcocks and some other birds are caught in springes

⁵ Are cheated by quacks who boast of nostrums and infallible receipts

And tho' it be a two foot trout,
 Tis with a single hair pull d out ¹
 Others believe no voice t an organ 10
 So sweet as lawyer s in his bar gown ²
 Until with subtle cobweb cheats
 They re catch d in knotted law, like nets
 In which, when once they are imbrangled,
 The more they stir, the more they re tangled 20
 And while their purses can dispute
 There s no end of th immortal suit
 Others still gape t' anticipate
 The cabinet designs of fate
 Apply to wizards to foresee ³
 What shall and what shall never be
 And as those vultures do forbode ⁵
 Believe events prove bad or good
 A flam more senseless than the roguery
 Of old aruspicy and aug ry ⁶ 30
 That out of garbages of cattle
 Presag d th events of truce or battle
 From flight of birds, or chickens pecking,
 Success of great st attempts would reckon

¹ That is though a man of discernment and one as unlikely to be caught by a medicine and a receipt as a trout two feet long to be pulled out by a single hair

In the hope of success many are led into law suits from which they are not able to extricate themselves till they are quite ruined See Ammianus Marcellinus lib xxx cap 4 where the evil practices of lawyers in the Roman Empire are described in terms not unsuitable to modern times

³ Var Run after wizards in editions of 1664

⁴ Thus Horace in his fifth Satire Book II v 59

O son of great Laertes everything
 Shall come to pass or never as I sing
 For Phoebus monarch of the tuneful Nine
 Informs my soul and gives me to divine

Alluding to the opinion that vultures rep'r b forehand to the place where battles will be fought Vultures being bird of prey, the word is here used in a double sense

⁶ Aruspicy was divination by sacrifice by the behaviour of the beast before it was slain by the appearance of its entrails or of the flames while it was burning Augury was divination from appearances in the heavens, thunder lightning &c, also from birds their flight, chattering manner of feeding &c Cato used to say, somewhat shrewdly that he marvelled how an augur could keep his countenance when he met a brother of the College

Tho' cheats, yet more intelligible 35
 Than those that with the stars do fribble
 This Hudibras by proof found true,
 As in due time and place we'll shew
 For he, with beard and face made clean,
 Being mounted on his steed again, 40
 And Ralpho got a cock horse too,
 Upon his beast, with much ado,
 Advanc'd on for the widow's house,
 To acquit himself and pay his vows,
 When various thoughts began to bustle 45
 And with his inward man to justle¹
 He thought what danger might accrue,
 If she should find he swore untrue,
 Or if his squire or he should fail,
 And not be punctual in their tale, 50
 It might at once the ruin prove
 Both of his honour, faith, and love
 But if he should forbear to go,
 She might conclude he'd broke his vow,
 And that he durst not now, for shame 55
 Appear in court to try his claim
 This was the perorth of his thought,
 To pass time, and uneasy trot
 Quoth he, In all my past adventures
 I ne'er was set so on the tenters, 60
 Or taken tardy with dilemma,²
 That every way I turn, does hem me,
 And with inextricable doubt
 Besets my puzzled wits about
 For though the dame has been my bail, 65
 To free me from enchanted jail,
 Yet, as a dog committed close
 For some offence by chance breaks loose,
 And quits his clog, but all in vain

¹ The Knight is perpetually troubled with 'cases of conscience' this being one characteristic of the class which he typifies

² That is, the value of it, in allusion to the common saying—"A penny for your thoughts"

³ An argument in logic consisting of two or more propositions, so disposed that deny or admit which you will you shall be involved in difficulties

He still draws after him his chain ¹ 70
 So tho' my ancle she has quitted
 My heart continues still committed
 And like a bail d and mainpriz d lover,²
 Altho' at large I am bound over
 And when I shall appear in court 75
 To plead my cause and answer for t
 Unless the judge do partial prove
 What will become of me and love?
 For if in our account we vary
 Or but in circumstance miscarry 80
 Or if she put me to strict proof,
 And make me pull my doublet off
 To show by evident record
 Writ on my skin I've kept my word,
 How can I e'er expect to have her 85
 Having demurr'd unto her favour?
 But faith and love and honour lost,
 Shall be reduc'd to a knight o' the post ³
 Beside, that stripping may prevent
 What I'm to prove by argument, 90
 And justify I have a tail
 And that way too, my proof may fail
 Oh! that I could enucleate ⁴
 And solve the problems of my fate,
 Or find by necromantic art ⁵ 95
 How far the destinies take my part
 For if I were not more than certain
 To win and wear her and her fortune,

¹ Persius applies this simile to the case of a person who is well inclined but cannot resolve to be uniformly virtuous. See Satire V v 157

Alas! the struggling dog breaks loose in vain
 Whose neck still drags along a trailing length of chain

And Petrarch has applied this simile to love

² Mainprized signifies one delivered by the judge into the custody of such as shall undertake to see him forthcoming at the day appointed. He had been set free from the stocks by the widow and had bound himself to appear before her

³ See note at p. 28

⁴ Explain, or open literally to take the kernel out of a nut

⁵ Necromancy or the black art is the discovery of future events by communicating with the dead. It is called the black art from the fanciful resemblance of necromancy to *negromancy* and because it was presumed that evil spirits were concerned in effecting the communication with the dead

I d go no further in this courtship,
 To hazard soul, estate, and worship 100
 For tho' an oath obliges not
 Where anything is to be got ¹
 As thou hast prov'd, yet tis profane
 And sinful when men swear in vain
 Quoth Ralph, Not far from hence doth dwell 105
 A cunning man hight Sidrophel ²
 That deuls in destiny's dark counsels
 And sage opinions of the moon sells,³
 To whom all people far and near,
 On deep importances repair 110
 When brass and pewter hap to stray,<⁴
 And linen slinks out of the way
 When geese and pullen are seduc'd ⁵
 And sows of sucking pigs are chow'd,⁶
 When cattle feel indisposition 115
 And need th opinion of physician
 When murrain reigns in hogs or sheep,
 And chickens languish of the pip
 When yeast and outward means do fail,
 And have no pow'r to work on ale 120

¹ The accommodating notions of dissenters with regard to oaths have already been stated in some preceding cantos

² Sidrophel was no doubt intended for William Lilly the famous astrologer and almanack maker, who, till the king's affairs declined was a cavalier, but after the year 1645 engaged body and soul in the cause of the Parliament and was one of the close committee to consult about the king's execution. He was consulted by the Royalists with the king's privacy, whether the king should escape from Hampton court whether he should sign the propositions of the Parliament &c and had twenty pounds for his opinion. See the Life of A. Wood Oxford 1772 p. 101 102, and his own Life, in which are many curious particulars. Some have thought that Sir Paul Neal was intended which is a mistake but Sir Paul Neal was the Sidrophel of the Heroical Epistle printed at the end of this canto. *Hight* that is called, is from the Anglo Saxon *hæten*, to call

³ i. e. the omens which he collects from the appearance of the moon

⁴ Lilly professed to be above this profitable branch of his art, which he designated the shame of astrology but he was accused of practising it in a pamphlet written against him by Sir John Birkenhead

⁵ Pullen that is poultry from the French *Poulet*

⁶ This was a new word in Butler's time having originated in the frauds committed by a chacious or messenger attached to the Turkish Embassy in 1609. See Gifford's Ben Jonson, the Alchemist, Act 1 sc 1

When butter does refuse to come ¹
 And love proves cross and humoursome
 To him with questions and with urine ²
 They for discovery flock or curing
 Quoth Hudibras This Sidrophel 100
 I've heard of and should like it well
 If thou canst prove the saints have freedom
 To go to sore rers when they need em
 Says Ralpho There's no doubt of that
 Those principles I've quoted late 130
 Prove that the godly may allege
 For anything their privilege
 And to the devil himself may go
 If they have motives thereunto
 For as there is a war between 130
 The devil and them it is no sin
 If they by subtle stratagem
 Make use of him as he does them
 Has not this present Parliament
 A ledger to the devil sent, ³ 140
 Fully empower'd to treat about
 Finding revolted witches out? ⁴
 And has not he within a year
 Hang'd threescore of em in one shire? ⁵

¹ When a country wench, says Selden in his Table Talk cannot get her butter to come she says the witch is in the churn

² Jilly's Autobiography abounds with illustrations of these lines people of all ranks seem to have had faith in his diagnosis of their waters as well as in his skill in discovery

³ That is an ambassador The person meant was Hopkins the noted witch finder for the Associated Counties

⁴ That is revolted from the Parliament

⁵ It is incredible what a number of poor sick and decrepit wretches were put to death under the pretence of their being witches Hopkins occasioned threescore to be hung in one year in the county of Suffolk See Dr Hutchinson, p. 59 Grey says he has seen an account of between three and four thousand that suffered in the king's dominions from the year 1640 to the king's restoration In December 1649 says Whitelock 'many witches were apprehended The witch trier taking a pin and thrusting it into the skin in many parts of their bodies if they were insensible of it it was a circumstance of proof against them October 1652 sixty were accused much malice little proof though they were tortured many ways to make them confess

Some only for not being drown'd ¹ 145
 And some for sitting above ground
 Whole days and nights upon their breeches,²
 And feeling pain were hang'd for witches
 And some for putting knavish tricks
 Upon green geese and turkey chicks, 150
 Or pigs that suddenly deceast,
 Of griefs unnatural, as he guest,
 Who after prov'd himself a witch,
 And made a rod for his own breech ³
 Did not the Devil appear to Martin 155
 Luther in Germany for certain ⁴
 And would have gull'd him with a trick,
 But Mart was too too politic
 Did he not help the Dutch to purge
 At Antwerp their cathedral church ⁵ 160

¹ See Part II Canto I line 503 note

² One of the tests of a witch was to tie her legs across and so to seat her on them that they were made to sustain the whole weight of her body and rendered her incapable of motion. In this painful posture she would be kept during the whole of the trial and sometimes 24 hours without food, till she confessed.

³ Dr Hutchinson in his Historical Essay on Witchcraft page 66 tells us 'that the country tired of the cruelties committed by Hopkins tried him by his own system. They tied his thumbs and toes as he used to do others and threw him into the water when he swam like the rest

⁴ Luther, in his book *de Missa privata* says he was persuaded to preach against the Mass by reasons suggested to him by the Devil in a disputation. Melchior Adam says the Devil appeared to Luther in his own garden, in the shape of a black boar. And the Table Talk relates that when Luther was in his chamber in the castle at Wartsburg the Devil cracked some nuts which he had in a box upon the bed post tumbled empty barrels down stairs, &c. There is still shown at this castle the mark on the wall made by Luther's inkstand which he hurled at the Devil's head when he mocked the Reformer as he was busied on the translation of the Bible. But he generally rid himself of the tempter by jests and sometimes rather unsavoury ones. See some anecdotes of Luther's belief in witchcraft in Luther's Table Talk by Hazlitt, p. 201 &c.

⁵ In the beginning of the civil war in Flanders the common people at Antwerp broke into the cathedral and destroyed the ornaments. Strada, in his book *de Bello Belgico* says that "several devils were seen to assist them without whose aid it would have been impossible in so short a time, to have done so much mischief

Sing catches to the saints at Mascon ¹
 And tell them all they came to ask him ²
 Appear in divers shapes to Kelly ³
 And speak i th nun of Loudun s belly ⁴ 160
 Meet with the Parliament s committee
 At Woodstock i on a pers nal treaty ⁵
 At Sarum take a cavalier ⁶
 I th Cause s service prisoner ?
 As Withers in immortal rhyme,
 Has register d to after time 170

¹ Mascon is a town in Burgundy where an unclean devil as he was called, played his pranks in the house of Mr Perreaud a reformed minister ann 1612 Sometimes he sang psalms at others licentious verses and frequently lampooned the Huguenots Mr Perreaud published a circumstantial account of him in French which at the request of Mr Boyle who had heard the matter attested was translated into English by Dr Peter de Moulm The poet calls them saints because they were of the Genevan creed

² See notes to lines 236 7 8 The persons here instanced made great pretensions to sanctity On this circumstance Ralpho founds his argument for the lawfulness of the practice that saints may converse with the devil Casaubon informs us that Dee who was associated with Kelly employed himself in prayer and other acts of devotion before he entered upon his conversation with spirits

³ Grandier the curate of Loudun was ordered to be burned alive A D 1634 by Judges commissioned and influenced by Richelieu and the prioress with half the nuns in the convent were obliged to own themselves bewitched Grandier was a handsome man and very eloquent and his real fault was that he outdid the monks in their own arts There was in reality no ground but the envy and jealousy of the monks for the charges against him See Bayle s Dictionary Art Grandier and Dr Hutchinson s Historical Essay on Witchcraft p 36

⁴ Dr Plot in his History of Oxfordshire ch viii tells us how the devil or some evil spirit disturbed the commissioners at Woodstock whither they went to value the crown lands directly after the execution of Charles I A personal treaty had been very much desired by the king and often pressed and petitioned for by great part of the nation the poet insinuates that though the Parliament refused to hold a personal treaty with the king yet they scrupled not to hold one with the devil at Woodstock Sir Walter Scott has made the tale familiar by his novel The whole of the attacks upon the commissioners in the form of ghosts and evil spirits which finally drove them from the place were planned and in great part carried into effect by a roguesh concealed loyalist Joseph Collins or Funny Joe who was engaged as their Secretary under the name of Giles Sharp

⁵ Withers who figures in Pope s Dunciad was a puritanical officer in the Parliament army and a prolific writer of verse He has a long story in doggerel, of a soldier of the king s army who being a prisoner at Salisbury and drinking a health to the devil upon his knees, was carried away by him through a single pane of glass

Do not our great reformers use
 This Sidrophel to forebode news,¹
 To write of victories next year,²
 And castles taken, yet i' th' air³
 Of battles fought at sea, and ships 175
 Sunk two years hence⁴ the last eclipse⁵
 A total o'erthrow giv'n the king
 In Cornwall horse and foot, next spring⁶
 And has not he point blank foretold
 Whats e'er the close committee would⁷ 180
 Made Mars and Saturn for the Cause,⁸
 The moon for Fundamental Laws
 The Ram the Bull, the Goat declare
 Against the book of Common Prayer⁹
 The Scorpion take the Protestation 185
 And Bear engage for Reformation¹⁰
 Made all the royal stars recant
 Compound and take the Covenant¹¹
 Quoth Hudibras, The case is clear
 The saints may employ a conjurer, 190
 As thou hast prov'd it by their practice,
 No argument like matter of fact is
 And we are best of all led to
 Men's principles, by what they do

¹ Lilly was employed to foretell victories on the side of the Parliament and was well paid for his services

² Lilly tells us himself how he predicted a victory for the king about June 1645, which unluckily proved to be the time of his total defeat at Naseby. He says that during Cromwell's campaign in Scotland, in one of the battles a soldier encouraged his comrades by reading the month's prediction of victories to them, out of "Anglicus"

³ Lilly grounded lying predictions on that event. Grey says his reputation was lost by his false prognostic of an eclipse that was to happen on the 29th of March 1652, commonly called Black Monday. But in 1656, the Royalists at Bruges were greatly inspired by a prediction of the king's restoration in the following year which he had communicated to one of Charles's secretaries

⁴ The direct contrary happened for the king overthrew the Parliamentarians in Cornwall

⁵ The Parliament appointed a licenser of almanacks and so prevented any from appearing which prophesied good for the Cause

⁶ Made the planets and constellations side with the Parliament

⁷ The author here evidently alludes to Charles elector palatine of the Rhine, and to King Charles the Second who both took the Covenant

Then let us straight advance in quest 190
 Of this profound gymnosophist ¹
 And as the fates and he advise
 Pursue or waive this enterprise
 This said he turn'd about his steed
 And eftsoons on th' adventure rid 200
 Where leave we him and Ralph awhile
 And to the Conjurer turn our stile,
 To let our reader understand
 What's useful of him beforehand
 He had been long t'wards mathematics 205
 Optics philosophy and statics
 Magic horoscopy astrology
 And was old dog ² at physiology
 But as a dog that turns the spit ³
 Bestirs himself and plies his feet 210
 To climb the wheel but all in vain
 His own weight brings him down again
 And still he's in the self same place
 Where at his setting out he was,
 So in the circle of the arts 215
 Did he advance his natural parts
 Till falling back still for retreat
 He fell to juggle cant and cheat ⁴
 For as those fowls that live in water
 Are never wet, he did but smatter, 220

¹ The Gymnosophists were a sect of philosophers in India so called from their going with naked feet and very little clothing. They were extreme abstinent, and much respected for their superior sanctity. Butler seems to use the word as equivalent to recluse or ascetic.

A humorous employment of the proverbial term for an experienced or knowing person.

² Prior's simile seems to have been suggested by this passage.

Dear Thomas didst thou never see
 ('Tis but by way of simile)
 A squirrel spend his little rage
 In jumping round a rolling cage ³
 But here or there turn wood or wire,
 He never gets two inches higher
 So fares it with those merry blades
 That frisk it under Pindus' shades

⁴ The account here given of Wilham Lilly agrees exactly with his Life written by himself.

Whate'er he labour'd to appear
 His understanding still was clear,¹
 Yet none a deeper knowledge boasted,
 Since old Hodge Bacon, and Bob Grosted²
 Th' intelligible world he knew,³ 220
 And all men dream on't, to be true,
 That in this world there's not a wart
 That has not there a counterpart,
 Nor can there, on the face of ground,
 An individual beard be found, 230
 That has not in that foreign nation
 A fellow of the self same fashion,
 So cut, so colour'd, and so curl'd,
 As those are in th' inferior world
 He'd read Dee's prefaces before 235
 The Devil, and Euclid o'er and o'er,⁴
 And all th' intrigues 'twixt him and Kelly,
 Lescus and th' emperor, would tell ye⁵

¹ Clear, that is, empty

² Roger Bacon was a Franciscan friar who flourished in the thirteenth century and was commonly regarded as a conjurer or practitioner of the black art, on account of his knowledge of natural science and philosophy. His *Opus Majus* is one of the most wonderful books of the times in which he lived. He was acquainted with the composition of gunpowder and seems to have anticipated some of the great discoveries of later ages. Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln a contemporary of Bacon, was a man of great learning, considering the times and was declared to be a magician by the ignorant ecclesiastics. He distinguished himself by resisting the aggressions of the Papacy on the liberties of the English Church, for which he incurred the anathemas of Pope Innocent IV.

³ The intelligible world was the model or prototype of the visible world. See P 1 c 1 v 536 and note

⁴ Dr John Dee, the reputed magician was born in London, 1527, and educated at Cambridge as a clergyman of the English Church. He enjoyed great fame during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I by his knowledge in mathematics. Tycho Brahe gives him the title of præstantissimus mathematicus, and Camden calls him nobilis mathematicus. He wrote, among other things a preface to Euclid and to Billingsley's Geometry, to which Butler apparently alludes. He began early to have the reputation of holding intercourse with the Devil and on an occasion when he was absent, the populace broke into his house and destroyed the greater part of his valuable library and museum, valued at several thousand pounds.

⁵ Kelly was an apothecary at Worcester and Dee's chief assistant, his seer or "slyyer" (that is, *medium*) as he called him. A learned Pole, ~~and~~

But with the moon was more familiar
 Than e'er was almanack well willer ¹ 240
 Her secrets understood so clear
 That some believ'd he had been there
 Knew when she was in fittest mood
 For cutting corns or letting blood ²
 When for anointing scabs and itches, 245
 Or to the bum applying leeches
 When sows and bitches may be spay'd
 And in what sign best ciders made,
 Whether the wane be or increase
 Best to set garlic or sow pease 250
 Who first found out the man in the moon ³
 That to the ancients was unknown
 How many dukes and earls and peers,
 Are in the planetary spheres
 Their airy empire and command 255
 Their several strengths by sea and land

bert Laski whom Mr Butler calls Lescus visiting England formed an acquaintance with Dee and Kelly and when he left this country took them and their families with him into Poland Next to Kelly* he was the greatest confidant of Dee in his secret transactions They were entertained by the Emperor Rodolph II to whom they disclosed some of their secrets and showed the wonderful stone and he in return treated them with great respect knighted Kelly but afterwards imprisoned him Dee received some advantageous offers it is said from the king of France the emperor of Muscovy and several foreign princes but he returned to England and after great vicissitudes died in poverty at Mortlake in the year 1608 aged 81

¹ The almanack makers styled themselves well willers to the mathematics or philomaths

² Respecting these and other matters mentioned in the following lines Lilly and the old almanack makers gave particular directions Astrologer of all ages have regarded certain planetary aspects to be especially favourable to the operations of husbandry and physic and the influence of the moon is still pretty generally recognised See Tusser's Five hundred Points of Good Husbandry

³ There are and have been in all countries and ages, different popular beliefs respecting the man in the moon He is a stealer of firewood, according to Chaucer according to others a sabbath breaker or the man who was stoned for gathering sticks on the sabbath, whilst the Israelites were in the wilderness (see Numbers xv 32) The Italian peasantry have for ages called him Cam and as such he is alluded to in Dante Paradiso II (Wright's translation, page 309) See Daniel O'Rourke's Dream in Crofton Croker's Fairy Legends, for a truly Hibernian representation of his love of solitude

What factions they 've, and what they drive at
 In public vogue, or what in private ,
 With what designs and interests
 Each party manages contests 260
 He made an instrument to know
 If the moon shine at full or no ,
 That would, as soon as e'er she shone, straight
 Whether twere day or night demonstrate
 Tell what her diameter to an inch is,¹ 265
 And prove that she's not made of green cheese
 It would demonstrate that the Man in
 The moon's a sea mediterranean,⁴
 And that it is no dog nor bitch
 That stands behind him at his breech, 270
 But a huge Caspian sea or lake,
 With arms, which men for legs mistake ,
 How large a gulph his tail composes,
 And what a goodly bay his nose is ,
 How many German leagues by th' scale 275
 Cape snouts from promontory tail
 He made a planetary gin,³
 Which rats would run their own heads in,
 And come on purpose to be taken
 Without the expence of cheese or bacon 280
 With lute strings he would counterfeit
 Maggots that crawl on dish of meat ,⁴
 Quote moles and spots on any place
 O the body, by the index face,⁵

¹ The determination of the diameter of the moon was so recent an event in Butler's time that scientific pedants rendered themselves fair butts for his satire by the use they made of this knowledge of it

² It used to be supposed that the darker shadows on the moon's surface were seas, and the old astronomers gave them various names, some after a fancied analogy in their distribution to the principal seas of the eastern hemisphere of the globe others, purely arbitrary. They are now known to be merely depressions on the surface the closest observers having failed to detect any trace of either water or air¹

³ The horoscope which looks like a net or trap, and in which places for the planets are duly assigned

⁴ The strings of a fiddle or lute cut into short pieces and strewed upon warm meat, will contract and appear like live maggots

⁵ Some physiognomists have conceived the head of man to be the model of the whole body so that any mark there will have a corresponding one on some part of the body See Lally's Life

Detect lost maidenheads by sneezing, 28-
 Or breaking wind of dames or pissing ¹
 Cure warts and corns with application
 Of med cines to th imagination, ²
 Fright agues into dogs and scare
 With rhymes the tooth ach and catarrh ³ 290
 Chase evil spirits away by dint
 Of sickle horseshoe hollow flint ⁴
 Spit fire out of a walnut shell ⁵
 Which made the Roman slaves rebel,
 And fire a mine in China here 295
 With sympathetic gunpowder

¹ Democritus is said to have pronounced more nicely on the maid servant of Hippocrates Lilly professed this art and said that no woman whom he found a maid ever twitted him with having been mistaken

Warts are still ' charmed away ' and there are few persons who can not recite numerous examples of the efficacy of medicines applied to the imagination for the removal of those unseemly excrescences

² Butler seems to have raked together as many of the baits for human credulity as his reading could furnish or he had ever heard mentioned These charms for tooth aches and coughs were well known to the common people a few years since The word *abracadabra* for fever is as old as Sammonicus *Haut haut hista pista vista* were recommended for a sprain by Cato and Homer relate that the sons of Antolycus stopped the bleeding of Ulysses wound by a charm Soothing medicines are still called *carminatives* from the Latin *carmen* a magic formula But the records of superstition in this respect are endless and Grey quotes several which are very amusing He says ' I have heard of a merry baronet Sir B B who had great success in the cure of agues by charms A gentleman of his acquaintance applying to him for the cure of a stubborn quartan which had defied the doctors he told him he had no faith and would be prying into the secret and then notwithstanding the fit might be staved off awhile it would certainly return The gentleman promised him on his word of honour he would not look into it but when he had escaped a second fit he could resist his curiosity no longer and opened the paper when he found in it no more than the words *Lass* — — Another story of the kind is told by Selden in his Table Talk He cured a person of quality who fancied he had two devils in his head by wrapping a card in a piece of silk with strings and hanging it round his neck But those who delight in such stories will find an abundance of them in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* 3 vols post 8vo

⁴ There is scarcely a stable door in the country (none certainly at Newmarket) without a horseshoe nailed on it or on the threshold

⁵ This refers to the origin of the Servile war in Sicily when Eunus a Syrian exerted his companions in slavery to a revolt by pretending a commission from the gods and filling a nutshell with sulphur breathed out fire and smoke in proof of his divine authority See Lavy Florus, and other Roman historians

He knew what's ever s to be known,
 But much more than he knew would own
 What medicine 'twas that Paracelsus
 Could make a man with, as he tells us, ¹ 300
 What figured slates are best to make,
 On wat'ry surface duck or drake ²
 What bowling stones in running race
 Upon a board have swiftest pace
 Whether a pulse beat in the black 305
 List of a dappled louse's back ³
 If systole or diastole move
 Quickest when he's in wrath, or love ⁴
 When two of them do run a race,
 Whether they gallop trot or pace 310
 How many scores a flea will jump
 Of his own length from head to rump ⁵
 Which Socrates and Chærephon
 In vain assayed so long ago
 Whether his snout a perfect nose is 315
 And not an elephant's proboscis ⁶

¹ Paracelsus was born in 1493 in Switzerland and studied medicine but devoted himself most to astrology and alchemy. He professed to have discovered the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life but nevertheless died in poverty. One of his doctrines was that man might be generated without connexion of the sexes, an idea which was humorously but coarsely ridiculed by Rabelais book ii ch. 27 where he speaks of begetting 53,000 little men with a single f—

² Intimating that Sidrophel was a smatterer in natural philosophy and knew something of the laws of motion and gravity though all he arrived at was but child's play, such as making ducks and drakes on the water &c.

³ It was the fashion with the wits of our author's time to ridicule the Transactions of the Royal Society and Dr Hooke in particular whose Micrographia is here particularly referred to. Hooke was an admirable and laborious practical philosopher, but in his writings betrays much credulity and deficiency of method.

⁴ Systole (the contraction) and diastole (the dilatation) of the heart are the motions by means of which the circulation of the blood is effected and the passions of the mind have a sensible influence on the animal economy.

⁵ Aristophanes (Clouds Act i sc. 24) introduces a scholar of Socrates describing the method in which Socrates, and his friend Chærephon endeavoured to ascertain how many lengths of its own feet a flea will jump not, as our author says how many lengths of its body. Both Plato and Xenophon allude to this ridicule of their master.

⁶ The lancets and sucker of the flea were a very favourite object of our earlier microscopists and they are still popular.

How many diff'rent specieses
 Of maggots breed in rotten cheeses
 And which are next of kin to those
 Engender'd in a chandler's nose 320
 Or those not seen but understood,
 That live in vinegar and wood ¹
 A paltry wretch he had half starv'd
 That him in place of Zany serv'd, ²
 Hight Whachum bred to dash and draw, 325
 Not wine but more unwholesome law
 To make twist words and lines huge gaps ³
 Wide as meridians in maps
 To squander paper and spare ink
 Or chert men of their words some think 330
 From this by merited degrees
 He d to more high advancement rise
 To be an under conjurer
 Or journeyman astrologer
 His business was to pump and wheedle 335
 And men with their own keys unriddle ⁴

¹ All the objects spoken of in these lines are mentioned in Dr Hooke's work on the Microscope. The *viriones* or eels in vinegar were by their bites absurdly supposed by some to be the cause of its pungency.

² A Zany is a buffoon or Meiry Andrew designed to assist the quack as the ballad singer used to help the cut purse or pick pocket. L'Estrange says that Whachum is intended for one Tom Jones a foolish Welchman. Other think it was meant for Pichard Green who published a piece of ribaldry entitled Hudibras in a narrative of Sir George Wharton and Butler's Biographies of 1710 thinks it was levelled at the author of the spurious 'second part' of Hudibras.

³ As lawyers used to do in their bills and answers in Chancery, for which they charged so much per sheet.

⁴ Menckenius in his book de Charlataneria Eruditorum ed. Amst. 1747 p. 192 tells the following story. There was a quack who boasted that he could infallibly detect by the appearance of the urine, not only the diseases of the subject but all mishaps which might by any means have befallen him. To contrive this he bade his servants pump those who came to consult him and communicate to him privately what they found out. One day a poor woman brought her husband's water to him and he had scarcely looked at it when he exclaimed 'Your husband has had the misfortune to fall down stairs.' She full of wonder said 'And did you find that out from his water?' Aye truly said he and I am very much mistaken if he did not fall down fifteen stairs. When however she said that he had actually fallen down twenty Pray said he with assumed anger did you bring all the water? No replied she 'the bottle would not

To make them to themselves give answers,
 For which they pay the necromancers ,
 To fetch and carry intelligence
 Of whom and what and where, and whence, 340
 And all discoveries disperse
 Among th whole pack of conjurers
 What cut purses have left with them,
 For the right owners to redeem ,
 And what they dare not vent find out, 345
 To gain themselves and th art repute
 Diaw figures, schemes and horoscopes,
 Of Newgate, Bridewell brokers shops,
 Of thieves ascendant in the cart,¹
 And find out all by rules of art 350
 Which way a serving man, that s run
 With clothes or money way, is gone ,
 Who pick d a fob at holding forth,²
 And where a watch for half the worth,
 May be redeem d, or stolen plate 355
 Restor d at conscionable rate³
 Beside all this he serv d his master
 In quality of poetaster
 And rhymes appropriate could make
 To ev ry month i th almanack ⁴ 360

hold it all 'There it is said he you have just left those five stairs behind you' Another story somewhat similar is told by Grey of a Sidrophel in Moorfields, who had in his waiting room different ropes to little bells which hung in his consulting room upstairs If a girl had been deceived by her lover one bell was pulled if a peasant had lost a cow, another and so on his attendant taking care to sift the inquirer beforehand and give notice accordingly ¹ Ascendant, a term in astrology is here equivocal

² Holding forth was merely preaching and the term was borrowed, with out much appropriateness from the Epistle to the Philippians chap ii 16 But Dean Swift, in his 'Tale of a Tub' gives a different derivation of the term and humorously says that it arose from the way in which the dissenters held forth their ears of grim magnitude, first on one side and then on the other At this period warning was customarily given in churches and chapels either by a notice board, or orally from the minister, to beware of pickpockets

³ It was a penal offence to compound a felony And the astrologers profession naturally led them to be brothers in such affairs Lilly acknowledges that he was once indicted for his performance in this line

⁴ Alluding to John Booker who Lilly informs us, "made excellent verses upon the twelve months, framed according to the configuration of each

When terms begun, and end could tell,
 With their returns, in doggerel ¹
 When the exchequer opes and shuts,
 And sow gelder with safety cuts ,
 When men may eat and drink their fill, 360
 And when be temp rate if they will
 When use, and when abstain from vice,
 Figs grapes phlebotomy and spice
 And as in prison mean rogues beat
 Hemp for the service of the great ² 370
 So Whachum beat his dirty brains
 T advance his master s fame and gains,
 And like the devil s oracles
 Put into dogg rel rhymes his spells,
 Which over ev ry month s blank page 370
 I th almanack strange bilks presage ³
 He would an elegy compose
 On maggots squeez d out of his nose ,
 In lyric numbers write an ode on
 His mistress eating a black pudden , 380
 And when imprison d air escap d her,
 It puft him with poetic rapture
 His sonnets charm d th attentive crowd
 By wide mouth d mortal troll d aloud,
 That circled with his long ear d guests, 380
 Like Orpheus look d among the beasts
 A carman s horse could not pass by,
 But stood ty d up to poetry
 No porter s burden pass d along
 But serv d for burden to his song 390

¹ Mnemonic verses for such things have always been in vogue and are useful enough such as Thirty days has September April, June and November, &c The couplet by which the Dominical or Sunday Letter can always be discovered (in common years) is an example of them—

‘ At Dover Dwell George Brown Esquire
 Good Christopher Finch And David Frier

The initial letters being those of the first days of the twelve months in order from which those of all other days may be reckoned

² Petty rogues in Bridewell beat hemp and it may happen that the produce of their labour is employed in making halters, in which greater criminals are hanged

³ Bilk signifies a cheat or fraud as well as to baulk or disappoint.

Each window like a pill ry appears
 With heads thrust thro' nailed by the ears,
 All trades run in as to the sight
 Of monsters or their dear delight 340
 The gallow tree, when cutting purse
 Breeds bus ness for heroic verse¹
 Which none does hear, but would have hung
 T' have been the theme of such a song²
 Those two together long had liv'd,
 In mansion prudently contriv'd³ 400
 Where neither tree nor house could bar
 The free detection of a star
 And nigh an ancient obelisk
 Was rais'd by him found out by Fisk,⁴
 On which was written not in words, 405
 But hieroglyphic mute of birds⁵
 Many rare pithy saws concerning
 The worth of astrologic learning
 From top of this there hung a rope,
 To which he fasten'd telescope 410
 The spectacles with which the stars
 He reads in smallest characters
 It happen'd as a boy one night,
 Did fly his tarsel⁶ of a kite,

¹ 'Copies of Verses indited in the name of the culprit as well as his
 'last dying speech and confession' were then customarily hawked about
 on the day of the execution

² Sir John Denham sings of the Earl of Strafford

So did he move our passions some were known
 To wish, for the defence the crime their own

³ Lilly had a house and grounds at Hershams Walton on Thames which
 was his regular abode when not in London. He tells us in his Life that he
 bought them in 1652 for £950

⁴ Fisk was a licentiate in medicine of good parts and very studious but
 he abandoned his profession in pursuit of astrology. In the year 1663
 says Lilly in his own Life "I became acquainted with Nicholas Fisk li-
 centiate in physic born in Suffolk fit for but not sent to, the university
 studying at home astrology and physic, which he afterwards practised at
 Colchester. He had a pension from the Parhamment, and during the civil
 war and the whole of the usurpation prognosticated on that side

⁵ That is, the dung of birds. See the account of Tobit's loss of his eye
 sight in the Book of Tobit

⁶ Thersel or tiercelet is the French name of the male goss hawk. See
 Wright's Glossary

The strangest long wing'd hawk that flies, 410
 That like a bird of Paradise
 Or herald's martlet has no legs¹
 Nor hatches young ones nor lays eggs
 His train was six yards long milk white
 At th' end of which there hung a light 420
 Enclos'd in lanthorn made of paper,
 That far off like a star did appear
 This Sidrophel by chance espy'd
 And with amazement staring wide
 Bless us quoth he what dreadful wonder 425
 Is that appears in heaven yonder?
 A comet and without a beard!
 Or star that ne'er before appear'd!²
 I'm certain 'tis not in the scowl
 Of all those beasts and fish and fowl³ 430
 With which like Indian plantations
 The learned stock the constellations⁴

¹ The old naturalists partly because the legs of the birds of Paradise are feathered down to the feet and partly because the natives cut off the feet and used the whole skin as a plume thought that they had no feet and invented the most ridiculous fables about them. Martlets in heraldry are represented without feet. They are intended for the great black swallow called the swift or deviling which has long and powerful wings and is very seldom known to alight except on its nest.

There are several appearances (and disappearances) of new stars recorded. One in 1573 and another in 1604 which became almost as bright as the planet Venus. Another was seen in 1670 but that was after Butler had written these lines.

² Astronomers have from the earliest times grouped the stars into constellations which they have distinguished by the names of beasts, birds, fishes, &c. according to their supposed forms. Butler in his *Genuine Remains*, vol. 1 p. 9 says

That elephants are in the moon
 Though we had now discover'd none
 Is easily made manifest
 Since from the greatest to the least
 All other stars and constellations
 Have cattle of all sorts of nations

⁴ The old Cosmographers when they found vast places whereof they knew nothing used to fill the same with an account of Indian plantations, strange birds, beasts, &c.

Nor those that, drawn for signs, have been
 To th' houses where the planets inn¹
 It must be supernatural 435
 Unless it be that cannon ball
 That shot i' the air point blank upright,
 Was borne to that prodigious height,
 That learn'd philosophers maintain
 It ne'er came backwards down again,² 440
 But in the airy regions yet
 Hangs like the body o' Mahomet,³
 For if it be above the shade,
 That by the earth's round bulk is made,
 'Tis probable it may from far, 445
 Appear no bullet but a star
 This said he to his engine flew,
 Plac'd near at hand, in open view
 And rais'd it till it levell'd right
 Against the glow worm tail of kite,⁴ 450
 Then peeping thro' Bless us! quoth he,
 It is a planet now I see,
 And if I err not by his proper
 Figure that's like tobacco stopper⁵
 It should be Saturn yes, 'tis clear 455
 'Tis Saturn but what makes him there?
 He's got between the Dragon's tail,
 And further leg behind o' th' Whale,⁶
 Pray heav'n divert the fatal omen,
 For 'tis a prodigy not common, 460

¹ Signs, a pun on the signs for public houses and the signs or constellations in the heavens. The constellations are called 'houses' by astrologers.

² Some foreign philosophers directed a cannon towards the zenith and, having fired it without finding where the ball fell, conjectured that it had stuck in the moon. Des Cartes imagined that the ball remained in the air. See Tale of a Tub p. 252.

³ The story of Mahomet's body being suspended in an iron chest, between two great loadstones (which is not a Mahometan tradition), is refuted by Sandys and Prideaux.

⁴ The luminous part of the glow worm is the tail.

⁵ This alludes to the symbol of Saturn in some of the old books. Astrologers use a sign not much unlike it.

⁶ On some old globes the Whale is represented with legs.

And can no less than the world s end ¹
 Or nature s funeral portend
 With that he fell again to pry
 Thro perspective more wistfully
 When by mischance the fatal string 460
 That kept the tow rung fowl on wing
 Breaking down fell the star Well shot
 Quoth Whachum who right wisely thought
 He d levell d at a star and hit it
 But Sidrophel more subtle witted 470
 Cry d out What horrible and fearful
 Portent is this to see a star fall!
 It threatens nature and the doom
 Will not be long before it come!
 When stars do fall tis plain enough ² 475
 The day of judgment s not far off
 As lately twas reveal d to Sedgwick ³
 And some of us find out by magick
 Then since the time we have to live
 In this world s shorten d let us strive 480
 To make our best advantage of it
 And pay our losses with our profit
 This feat fell out not long before
 The Knight upon the forenam d score
 In quest of Sidrophel advancing 485
 Was now in prospect of the mansion

‘ At sight whereof the people stand aghast
 But the sage wizaïd telle s he has redd
 That it importunes deth and doleful dieryhed

Fairy Queen Book iii Canto i st 16

² This notion of falling stars was almost universal until science showed the phenomenon to be both common and periodical. The theory is that these bodies are fragments traversing the planetary spaces and at given times are drawn by the earth s attraction to her surface.

³ Will Sedgwick was a whimsical fanatic preacher alternately a Presbyterian an Independent and an Anabaptist settled by the Parliament in the city of Ely. He pretended much to revelations and was called the apostle of the Isle of Ely. He gave out that the approach of the day of judgment had been disclosed to him in a vision and going to the house of Sir Francis Russel in Cambridgeshire where he found several gentlemen at bowls he warned them all to prepare themselves for the day of judgment would be some day in the next week whence he was nick named Doomsday Sedgwick.

Whom he discov'ring, turn'd his glass,
 And found far off twas Hudibras
 Whachum quoth he, Look yonder, some
 To try or use our art are come 490
 The one s the learned Knight,¹ seel out
 And pump em what they come about
 Whachum advanc d with all submiss ness
 T accost em but much more their bus ness
 He held the stirrup while the Knight 495
 From Leathern Bare bones² did alight,
 And, taking from his hand the bridle
 Approach d the dark Squire to unriddle
 He gave him first the time o th day³
 And welcom d him as he might say 500
 He ask d him whence they came and whither
 Their bus ness lay?—Quoth Ralpho, Hither
 Did you not lose?⁴—Quoth Ralpho, Nay
 Quoth Whachum Sir, I meant your way?
 Your Knight—Quoth Ralpho Is a lover, 505
 And pains intol rable doth suffer,¹
 For lovers hearts are not their own hearts,
 Nor lights nor lungs and so forth downwards
 What time?—Quoth Ralpho Sir too long
 Three years it off and on has hung— 510
 Quoth he I meant what time o th day tis
 Quoth Ralpho Between seven and eight tis
 Why then quoth Whachum my small art
 Tells me the Dame has a hard heart,
 Or great estate—Quoth Ralph A jointure, 515
 Which makes him have so hot a mind t her

It does not appear that Hudibras knew Sidrophel but from lines 1011 and 1012 it is plain that Sidrophel knew Hudibras It is extremely doubtful whether Lilly was personally acquainted with Sir Samuel Luke

² In the early editions Butler prints this word in *italics* meaning a sly hit at that conspicuous member of Cromwell's First Parliament, Praisegod Barebones the Leather Seller

³ He bade him good evening see line 540 on next page

⁴ He assumes that they came to inquire after something stolen or strayed In these lines we must observe the artfulness of Whachum who pumps the Squire concerning the Knight's business and afterwards relates it to Sidrophel in the presence of both of them, but in the cant terms of his own profession, a contrivance already alluded to in note on line 336, at p 225

Meanwhile the Knight was making water
 Before he fell upon the matter
 Which having done the Wizard steps in,
 To give him a suitable reception , 500
 But kept his bus ness at a bay,
 Till Whachum put him in the way
 Who having now, by Ralpho s light,
 Expounded th errand of the Knight,
 And what he came to know diw near, 520
 To whisper in the Conj rer s ear
 Which he prevented thus What was t,
 Quoth he, that I was saying last
 Before these gentlemen arriv d ?
 Quoth Whachum Venus you retriev d ¹ 530
 In opposition with Mars
 And no benign and friendly stars
 T allay the effect ² Quoth Wizard So
 In Virgo ? Ha ! quoth Whachum No ³
 Has Saturn nothing to do in it ⁴ 530
 One tenth of s circle to a minute ¹
 This well quoth he—Sir you ll excuse
 This rudeness I am forc d to use,
 It is a scheme and face of heaven
 As th aspects are dispos d this even, 540
 I was contemplating upon
 When you arriv d, but now I ve done
 Quoth Hudibras if I appear
 Unseasonable in coming here
 At such a time to interrupt 545
 Your speculations which I hop d
 Assistance from and come to use,
 Tis fit that I ask your excuse

¹ That is found or observed

Venus, the goddess of love opposes and thwarts Mars, the god of war and there is likely to be no accord between them by which he gives him to understand that the Knight was in love, and had small hopes of success

² Is his mistress a virgin ³ No therefore, by inference a widow

⁴ Saturn being the god of time the wizard by these words inquires how long the love affair had been carried on Whachum replies one tenth of his circle to a minute or three years one tenth of the thirty years in which Saturn finishes his revolution, and exactly the time which the Knight s courtship had been pending

By no means Sir, quoth Sidrophel,
 The stars your coming did foretell, 500
 I did expect you here and knew,
 Before you spake ¹ your business too
 Quoth Hudibras, Make that appear,
 And I shall credit whatsoe'er
 You tell me after, on your word, 505
 Howe'er unlikely, or absurd
 You are in love Sir with a widow,
 Quoth he that does not greatly heed you,
 And for three years has rid your wit
 And passion, without drawing bit, 560
 And now your business is to know
 If you shall carry her or no
 Quoth Hudibras, You're in the right,
 But how the devil you come by't
 I can't imagine, for the stars, 565
 I'm sure, can tell no more than a horse
 Nor can their aspects, tho' you pore
 Your eyes out on 'em tell you more
 Than th' oracle of sieve and sheers ²
 That turns as certain as the spheres, 570
 But if the Devil's of your counsel,
 Much may be done, my noble donzel, ³

¹ Var "Know before you speak" edit of 1689

² Scot thus describes this practice, which he calls Coscinomancy "Put a paire of sheeres in the rim of a sieve, and let two persons set the tip of each of their forefingers upon the upper part of the sheers, holding it with the sieve up from the ground steadily and ask St Peter and St Paul whether A B or C hath stolen the thing lost and at the nomination of the guilty person the sieve will turne round" Discovery of Witchcraft book xii ch xvii 262 The *Coscinomant*, or diviner by a sieve is mentioned by Theocritus Idyll iii 31 (Bohn's transl p 19) The Greek practice differed very little from that which has been stated above They tied a thread to the sieve or fixed it to a pair of shears which they held between two fingers After addressing themselves to the gods they repeated the names of the suspected persons and he at whose name the sieve turned round, was adjudged guilty This mode of divination was popular in rural districts to a very late period and is not yet entirely exploded See Brand's Popular Antiquities (Bohn's edit) vol iii p 351

³ Butler says in his character of a Squire of Dames (Remains vol ii. p 39), "he is donzel to the damzels, and gentleman usher daily waiter on the ladies and rubs out his time in making legs and love to them" The word is likewise used in Ben Jonson's Alchemist *Donzel*, a diminutive

And tis on his account I come,
 To know from you my fatal doom
 Quoth Sidrophel, If you suppose, * 575
 Sir Knight that I am one of those
 I might suspect and take the alarm,
 Your business is but to inform ¹
 But if it be, tis ne er the near,
 You have a wrong sow by the ear ² 580
 For I assure you for my part,
 I only deal by rules of art
 Such as are lawful and judge by
 Conclusions of astrology
 But for the Devil know nothing by him, 585
 But only this that I defy him
 Quoth he Whatever others deem ye
 I understand your metonymy, ³
 Your words of second hand intention ⁴
 When things by wrongful names you mention 590
 The mystic sense of all your terms,
 That are indeed but magic charms
 To raise the Devil and mean one thing,
 And that is downright conjuring
 And in itself more warrantable ⁵ 595
 Than cheat or canting to a rabble,

of Don, is from the Italian *donzello* and means a young squire page, or gallant

¹ That is to lay an information against him which would have exposed him to a prosecution as at that time there was a severe inquisition against conjurers witchs, &c See note on line 144 page 210

² Handbook of Proverbs p 178

³ Metonymy is a figure of speech whereby one word or thing is substituted by representation for another the cause is put for the effect the subject for the adjunct or *vice versâ* —as we say a man keeps a good table or we read Shakespeare meaning his works The term is here used in the sense of a juggle of words

⁴ Words not used in their primary meaning Terms of second intention, among the Schoolmen, denote ideas which have been arbitrarily adopted for purposes of science in opposition to those which are connected with sensible objects Whately says The first intention of a term is a certain vague and general signification of it as opposed to one more precise and limited which it bears in some particular art science, or system, and which is called its second intention (Book iii § 10)

⁵ The Knight has no faith in astrology but wishes the conjurer to own plainly that he deals with the Devil, and then he will hope for some satisfac

Or putting tricks upon the moon,
 Which by confed racy are done
 Your ancient conjurers were wont
 To make her from her sphere dismount,¹ 600
 And to their incantations stoop¹
 They scorn'd to pore thro' telescope,
 Or idly play at bo' peep with her
 To find out cloudy or fair weather,
 Which every almanack can tell, 605
 Perhaps as learnedly and well
 As you yourself—Then friend I doubt
 You go the furthest way about
 Your modest Indian Magician
 Makes but a hole in th' earth to piss in² 610
 And straight resolves all questions by t,
 And seldom fails to be i th' right
 The Rosy crucian way s more sure
 To bring the Devil to the lure,
 Each of 'em has a sev'ral gun, 615
 To catch intelligences in³
 Some by the nose with fumes trepan em,
 As Dunstan did the Devil s grannam⁴

tion from him To show what may be done in this way he recounts the great achievements of sorcerers

¹ So the witch Camdia in Horace Ep XVII line 78, boasts of her power to snatch the moon from heaven by her incantations The ancients frequently introduced this fiction See Virgil Eclogue viii 69 Ovid's Metamorphoses vii 207 Propertius book i elegy i 19 and Tibullus, book i elegy ii 44

² "The king presently called to his Bongi to clear the air the conjurer immediately made a hole in the ground wherein he urined Le Blanc's Travels p 98 The ancient Zabii used to dig a hole in the earth, and fill it with blood as the means of forming a correspondence with demons, and obtaining their favour

³ To secure demons or spirits

⁴ The chemists and alchemists In Butler's Remains vol ii p 235 we read 'these spirits they use to catch by the noses with fumigations as St Dunstan did the devil by a pair of tongs St Dunstan lived in the tenth century and became successively abbot of Glastonbury bishop of London and Worcester and archbishop of Canterbury He was a man of great learning a student of the occult sciences and proficient in the polite arts particularly painting and sculpture The legend runs, that as he was very attentively engraving a gold cup in his cell the Devil tempted him in the shape of a beautiful woman The saint, perceiving who it was took

Others with characters and words
 Catch 'em as men in nets do ¹ 620
 And some with symbols signs and tricks
 Engrav'd in planetary nicks ²
 With their own influences will fetch 'em
 Down from their orbs arrest and catch em,
 Make em depose and answer to 625
 All questions ere they let them go
 Bombastus kept a devil's bird
 Shut in the pommel of his sword ³
 That taught him all the cunning pranks
 Of past and future mountebanks 630
 Kelly did all his feats upon
 The Devil's looking glass a stone ⁴
 Where playing with him at bo peep
 He solv'd all problems ne'er so deep

up a tied hot pair of tongs and catching hold of the Devil by the nose made him howl in such a terrible manner as to be heard all over the neighbourhood

¹ By repetition of magical sounds and words, properly called enchantments. See Chaucer's Third Book of Fame

By signs and figures described according to astrological symmetry that is certain conjunctions or oppositions with the planets and aspects of the stars

³ Bombastus was the family name of Paracelsus of whom see note at page 224. Butler's note on this passage in the edition of 1674, is as follows

Paracelsus is said to have kept a small devil prisoner in the pommel of his sword which was the reason perhaps why he was so valiant in his drink. However it was to better purpose than Hannibal earned poison in his to dispatch himself if he should happen to be surprised in any great extremity for the sword would have done the feat alone much better and more soldier like. And it was below the honour of so great a commander to go out of the world like a rat

⁴ Dr Dee had a stone which he called his angelical stone asserting that it was brought to him by the angels Raphael and Gabriel with whom he pretended to be familiar. He told the emperor that the angels of God had brought to him a stone of such value that no earthly kingdom is of sufficient worthiness to be compared to the virtue or dignity thereof. It was large round and very transparent and persons who were qualified for the sight of it were to perceive various shapes and figures either represented in it as in a looking glass or standing upon it as on a pedestal. This stone is now in the Department of Antiquities British Museum. See Zadkiel's Almanac for 1851 for an account of one of these crystal balls which formerly belonged to Lady Blessington, and for the visions which were seen in it (?) in 1850. It is said that Dee's Angelical Stone which was in the

Agrippa kept a Stygian pug,
 I' th garb and habit of a dog,¹
 That was his tutor, and the cur
 Read to th occult philosopher,²
 And taught him subt ly to ma ntain
 All other sciences are vain³
 To this, quoth Sidrophello, Sir,
 Agrippa was no conjurer,
 Nor Paracelsus, no, nor Behmen,⁴
 Nor was the dog a caco dæmon,
 But a true dog that would show tricks
 For th emperor and leap o er sticks,
 Would fetch and carry was more civil
 Than other dogs, but yet no devil,
 And whatsoe er he s said to do,
 He went the self same way we go
 As for the Rosy cross philosophers,
 Whom you will have to be but sorcerers,
 What they pretend to is no more
 Than Trismegistus did before⁵

Strawberry Hill Collection, turned out to be only a polished piece of cannel coal

¹ As Paracelsus had a devil confined in the pommel of his sword so "Agrippa had one tied to his dog's collar, says Erastus. It is probable that the collar had some strange unintelligible characters engraven upon it. Mr Butler (in edit 1674) has the following note on these lines ' Cornelius Agrippa had a dog that was suspected to be a spirit, for some tricks he was wont to do beyond the capacity of a dog. But the author of *Magia Adamica* has taken a great deal of pains to vindicate both the doctor and the dog from that aspersion in which he has shown a very great respect and kindness for them both

² Meaning Agrippa, who wrote a book entitled *De Occulta Philosophia*. See note at p. 20

³ Bishop Warburton says, nothing can be more pleasant than this turn given to Agrippa's silly book *De Vanitate Scientiarum*

⁴ Jacob Behmen or Bohmen the inspired shoemaker and theosophist of Lusatia was merely an enthusiast, who deluded himself in common with his followers. Law, Bishop of Carlisle edited his works and gave them vogue in this country, and there are not wanting admirers of them even at the present day

⁵ The Egyptian deity Thoth called Hermes by the Greeks, and Mercury by the Latins from whom the early chemists pretended to have derived their art is the mythical personification of almost all that is valuable to man.

Pythagoras old Zoroaster ¹ 655
 And Apollonius their master ²
 To whom they do confess they owe
 All that they do and all they know
 Quoth Hudibras — Alas what is t t us
 Whether twere said by Trismegistus 660
 If it be nonsense false or mystick,
 Or not intelligible, or sophistick ?
 Tis not antiquity nor author
 That makes Truth truth altho Time s daughter ³
 Twas he that put her in the pit 665
 Before he pull d her out of it ⁴

¹ Little is known of Zoroaster who is supposed to have lived six centuries before the Christian era. Many miracles are attributed to him by the ancient writers and he is the legendary founder of the religion of the old Persians and reputed inventor of magic. Pythagoras a Greek philosopher flourished about the sixth or seventh century before Christ. He was the scholar of Thales travelled in Egypt Chaldea and other parts of the East and was initiated into all their mysteries and at last settled in Italy where he founded the Italic sect. He commonly expressed himself by symbols. Many incredible stories are reported of him by Diogenes Laertius Jamblicus, and others.

² Apollonius of Tyana lived in the time of Domitian. Many improbable wonders are related of him by Philostratus and more are added by subsequent writers. According to these accounts he raised the dead rendered himself invisible was seen at Rome and Puteoli on the same day and proclaimed at Ephesus the murder of Domitian at the very instant of its perpetration at Rome. This last fact is attested by Dio Cassius the consular historian who with the most vehement asseverations affirms it to be certainly true though it should be denied a thousand times over. Yet the same Dio elsewhere calls him a cheat and impostor. Dio lxxviii ult et lxxvii 18. The Life of Apollonius of Tyana written by Philostratus has been translated into English by Blount 1630 and by Berwick, 1809. Sceptics of all ages have been fond of comparing the feats of Apollonius with the miracles of Jesus Christ.

³ The Knight argues that opinions are not always to be received on the authority of a great name nor does the antiquity of an opinion ever constitute the truth of it.

⁴ Time brings truth to light although it was time also which had concealed it. It often involves subjects in perplexity and occasions those very difficulties which afterwards it helps to remove. Bishop Warburton observes that the satire contained in these lines of our author is fine and just. Cleanthes said that truth was hid in a pit. 'Yes' answers the poet "but you Greek philosophers were the first that put her in there, and then claimed so much merit to yourselves for drawing her out."

And as he eats his sons, just so
 He feeds upon his daughters too ¹
 Nor does it follow cause a herald
 Can make a gentleman scarce a year old,² 670
 To be descended of a race
 Of ancient kings in a small space,
 That we should all opinions hold
 Authentic that we can make old
 Quoth Sidorphel It is no part 675
 Of prudence to cry down an art,
 And what it may perform deny
 Because you understand not why,
 As Averrhoes play'd but a mean trick,
 To damn our whole art for eccentric,³ 680
 For who knows all that knowledge contains?
 Men dwell not on the tops of mountains,
 But on their sides or rising's seat,
 So tis with knowledge's vast height
 Do not the hist'ries of all ages 685
 Relate miraculous presages
 Of strange turns in the world's affairs,
 Foreseen by astrologers, soothsayers,
 Chaldeans learn'd Genethliacks⁴
 And some that have writ almanacks? 690

¹ If Truth is "Time's daughter" yet Saturn, or Time may be none the kinder to her on that account For as poets feign that Saturn eats his sons so he may also be supposed to feed upon his daughters

² In all civil wars the order of things is subverted the poor become rich and the rich poor And they who suddenly gain riches seek, in the next place to be furnished with an honourable pedigree however fictitious Many instances of this kind are preserved in Walker's History of Independency Bate's Lives of the Regicides &c But the satire applies to heraldic pedigrees generally

³ Averrhoes flourished in the twelfth century He was a great critic lawyer and physician, and one of the most subtle philosophers that ever appeared among the Arabians He wrote a commentary upon Aristotle from whence he obtained the surname of commentator He much disliked the epicycles and eccentrics which Ptolemy had introduced into his system they seemed so absurd to him that they gave him a disgust to the science of astronomy in general He does not seem to have formed a more favourable opinion of astrology which he condemned as eccentric and fallacious having no foundation in truth or certainty

⁴ Genethliaci, or Chaldeans were soothsayers who undertook to foretell

The Median emperour dream'd his daughter
 Had pist all Asia under water ¹
 And that a vine sprung from her haunches,
 O'erspread his empire with its branches,
 And did not soothsayers expound it, 69a
 As after by the event he found it ²
 When Cæsar in the senate fell
 Did not the sun eclips'd foretell
 And in resentment of his slaughter,
 Look'd pale for almost a year after ³ 70c
 Augustus having b' oversight
 Put on his left shoe fore his right ⁴
 Had like to have been slain that day
 By soldiers mutin'ing for pay
 Are there not myriads of this sort 70a
 Which stories of all times report ⁵
 Is it not ominous in all countries
 When crows and ravens croak upon trees ⁶ ⁴
 The Roman senate when within
 The city walls an owl was seen ⁵ 710
 Did cause their clergy with lustrations,
 Our Synod calls Humiliations

the fortunes of men from circumstances attending their births by casting their nativities

¹ Astyages king of Media had this dream of his daughter Mandane and being alarmed at the interpretation which was given of it by the Magi he married her to Cambyse a Persian of mean quality. Her son was Cyrus who fulfilled the dream by the conquest of Asia. See Herodotus, i 107 and Justin

² The prodigies said to have preceded the death of Cæsar are mentioned by several of the classics Virgil Ovid Plutarch &c. But the poet alludes to what is related by Pliny in his Natural History ii 30. See also Shakespeare for a full account of these prodigies. *Jul. Cæs. Act i sc 3*

³ Pliny tells this tale in his Second Book. See also Suetonius lib ii s 29. The ascents to temples were always contrived so that the worshippers might set their right foot upon the uppermost step as the ancients were superstitious in this respect. And we have an old English saying about putting the right foot foremost. (*Handbook of Proverbs* p 160)

⁴ Ravens crows magpies and the like have always been regarded as birds of ominous appearance. But the omens have been variously interpreted in different ages and countries. In England if they croak against the sun it is for fine weather if in the water it is for rain. Bishop Hall says 'If you hear but a raven croak from the next rook, make your will

⁵ See *Julius Obsequens*, No 44 45 and *Lycosthenes*, p 194 195

The round fac'd prodigy t' avert
 From doing town or country hurt
 And if an owl have so much pow'r, 715
 Why should not planets have much more,
 That in a region far above
 Inferior fowls of the air move,
 And should see further and foreknow
 More than their augury below? 720
 Tho' that once serv'd the polity
 Of mighty states to govern by¹
 And this is what we take in hand,
 By pow'rful art to understand,
 Which, how we have perform'd all ages 725
 Can speak th' events of our presages
 Have we not lately in the moon
 Found a new world, to th' old unknown?²
 Discover'd sea and land Columbus
 And Magellan could never compass? 730
 Made mountains with our tubes appear,
 And cattle grazing on them there?
 Quoth Hudibras You lie so ope,
 That I without a telescope
 Can find your tricks out and descry 735
 Where you tell truth and where you lie
 For Anaxagoras, long ago,
 Saw hills as well as you i th' moon,³

¹ It appears from many passages of Cicero and other authors that the determinations of the augurs, aruspices, and the sibylline books were commonly contrived to promote the ends of government, or to serve the purposes of the chief managers in the commonwealth.

² "The fame of Galileo's observations excited many others to repeat them and to make maps of the moon's spots. The reference here except in respect of the "cattle" is to the map of Hevelius in his *Selenographia sive Lunæ Descriptio*. See also the *Cure of Melancholy* by Democritus, junior p. 254.

³ See Burnet's *Archæolog.* cap. x. p. 144. Anaxagoras of Clazomene was the first of the Ionic philosophers who maintained that the several parts of the universe were the works of a supreme intelligent being, and consequently did not allow the sun and moon to be gods. On this account he was accused of impiety, and thrown into prison but released by the intercession of Pericles who had been one of his pupils. The poet might probably have Bishop Wilkins in view whose book maintaining that the moon was a habitable world and proposing schemes for flying there went through several editions between 1638 and 1684.

And held the sun was but a piece
 Of red hot iron as big as Greece ¹ 740
 Believ'd the heav'ns were made of stone,
 Because the sun had voided one, ²
 And rather than he would recant
 Th' opinion suffer'd banishment
 But what alas! is it to us 745
 Whether 1th moon men thus or thus
 Do eat their porridge cut their corns,
 Or whether they have tails or horns?
 What trade from thence can you advance,
 But what we nearer have from France? 750
 What can our travellers bring home,
 That is not to be learnt at Rome?
 What politics or strange opinions
 That are not in our own dominions?
 What science can be brought from thence 755
 In which we do not here commence?
 What revelations or religions
 That are not in our native regions?
 Are sweating lanterns ³ or screen fans,
 Made better there than they re in France? 760
 Or do they teach to sing and play,
 O th' guitar there a newer way?
 Can they make plays there that shall fit
 The public humour with less wit?

¹ In Butler's Remains we read

For the ancients only took it for a piece
 Of red hot iron, as big as Peloponese

Alluding to one of the notions about the moon attributed no doubt falsely to Anaxagoras See his Life in Diogenes Laertius (Bohn's edit p 59 *et seq*)

² Anaxagoras had foretold that a large stone would fall from heaven and it was supposed to have been found soon afterwards near Ægospotamos The fall of the stone is recorded in the Arundelian marbles

³ These lanterns as the poet calls them, were boxes wherein the whole body was placed, together with a lamp They were used by quacks, in a certain disease to bring on perspiration See Swift's Works, vol vi Pethox the Great v 56 Hawkesworth's edition Screen fans were used to shade the eyes from the fire and commonly hung by the side of the chimney, sometimes ladies carried them along with them they were made of ornamented leather paper, straw, or feathers

Write wittier dances, quainter shows, 765
 Or fight with more ingenious blows ?
 Or does the man 1th moon look big,
 And wear a huger periwig,
 Show in his gait or face more tricks,
 Than our own native lunaticks ? ¹ 770
 But if w^e outdo him here at home,
 What good of your design can come ?
 As wind 1th hypocondres pent,²
 Is but a blast if downward sent,
 But if it upward chance to fly, 775
 Becomes new light and prophecy,³
 So when our speculations tend
 Above their just and useful end
 Altho they promise strange and great
 Discoveries of things far fet, 780

¹ These and the foregoing lines were a satire upon the gait, dress, and carriage of the fops and beaux of those days. Long perukes had some years previously been introduced in France and in our poet's time had come into great vogue in England.

In the belly under the short ribs. These lines were cleverly turned into Latin by Dr Harmer

Sic hypocondriacis inclusa meatibus aura
 Desinet in crepitum si fertur prona per alvum
 Sed si summa petat mentisque invaserit arcem
 Divinus furor est et conscia flamma futuri

The subject seems to have afforded scope or rather "given vent, to the wit of the day. In *Dornavi Amphitheatrum Sapientiae joco serio* Hanov 1619, are several early pieces *de peditu* and a merry English writer gives the following joco scientific definition of it. A nitro aerial vapour exhaled from an adjacent pond of stagnant water, of a saline nature and rarefied and sublimed into the nose of a microscopical alembic by the general heat of a stercorarius balneum, with a strong empyreuma and forced through the posteriors by the compressive power of the compulsive faculty.

³ New light was a phrase coined at that time and used ever since for any new opinion in religion. In the north of Ireland, where the dissenters are chiefly divided into two sects they are distinguished as the old and the new lights. The old lights are such as rigidly adhere to the old Calvinistic doctrine and the new lights are those who have adopted the more modern latitudinarian opinions. These are frequently hostile to each other, as their predecessors the Presbyterians and Independents were in the time of the Civil Wars.

They are but idle dreams and fancies,
 And savour strongly of the ganzas ¹
 Tell me but what's the natural cause,
 Why on a sign no painter draws
 The full moon ever but the half — 780
 Resolve that with your Jacob's staff ²
 Or why wolves raise a hubbub at her
 And dogs howl when she shines in water,
 And I shall freely give my vote
 You may know something more remote 790
 At this deep Sidrophel look'd wise
 And staring round with owl-like eyes,
 He put his face into a posture
 Of sapience and began to bluster
 For having three times shook his head 795
 To stir his wit up thus he said
 Art has no mortal enemies ³
 Next ignorance but owls and geese
 Those consecrated geese in orders
 That to the Capitol were warders ⁴ 800
 And being then upon patrol
 With noise alone beat off the Gaul
 Or those Athenian sceptic owls
 That will not credit their own souls ⁵

¹ Godwin afterwards bishop of Hereford wrote in his youth a kind of astronomical romance under the feigned name of Domingo Gonzales and entitled it *The Man in the Moon* or *a Discourse on a Voyage thither* (published London 1638). It gives an account of his being drawn up to the moon in a light vehicle by certain birds called ganzas a Spanish word for *geese*. The Knight here censures the pretensions of Sidrophel by comparing them with this wild expedition. The poet likewise might intend to banter some of the aerial projects of the learned Bishop Wilkins.

² A mathematical instrument for taking the heights and distances of stars.

³ "Et quod vulgo aunt artem non habere inimicum nisi ignorantem." Sprat thought it necessary to write many pages to show that natural philosophy was not likely to subvert our government or our religion and that experimental knowledge had no tendency to make men either bad subjects or bad Christians. See Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*.

⁴ The garrison of a castle were called warders. The tale of the defeat of the night attack on the Capitol through the cackling of the sacred geese of Juno is well known. See Livy's *Roman Hist.* Book v. c. 77.

⁵ Incredulous persons. He calls them owls because that bird was the emblem of wisdom and Athenian, because that bird was sacred to Minerva,

Or any science understand, 805
 Beyond the reach of eye or hand;
 But measuring all things by their own
 Knowledge, hold nothing s to be known
 Those wholesale critics that in coffee
 Houses cry down all philosophy, 810
 And will not know upon what ground
 In nature we our doctrine found,
 Altho with pregnant evidence
 We can demonstrate it to sense,
 As I just now have done to you, 815
 Foretelling what you came to know
 Were the stars only made to light
 Robbers and burglars by night ? ¹
 To wait on drunkards thieves, gold finders,
 And lovers solacing behind doors ? 820
 Or giving one another pledges
 Of matrimony under hedges ?
 Or witches simpling and on gibbets
 Cutting from malefactors snippets ? ²
 Or from the pill ry tips of ears 825
 Of rebel saints and perjurers ?
 Only to stand by, and look on,
 But not know what is said or done ?
 Is there a constellation there
 That was not born and bred up here , 830
 And therefore cannot be to learn
 In any inferior concern ?

the protectress of Athens Since the owl, however, is usually considered a moping, drowsy bird the poet intimates that the knowledge of these sceptics is obscure confused, and undigested The meaning of the whole passage is that there are two sorts of men, who are great enemies to the advancement of science the first bigoted divines who upon hearing of any new discovery in nature, apprehend an attack upon religion, and proclaim loudly that the Capitol i e the faith of the church is in danger the others self-sufficient philosophers who lay down arbitrary principles and reject every truth which does not coincide with them

¹ Sidrophel argues that so many luminous bodies could never have been constructed for the sole purpose of affording a little light in the absence of the sun but his reasoning does not contribute much to the support of astrology

² Collecting herbs and other requisites for their enchantments See Shakspeare s Macbeth, Act iv

Were they not during all their lives,
 Most of em pirates whores and thieves ?
 And is it like they have not still 830
 In their old practices some skill ?
 Is there a planet that by birth
 Does not derive its house from earth
 And therefore probably must know
 What is and hath been done below ? 840
 Who made the Balance or whence came
 The Bull the Lion and the Ram ?
 Did not we here the Argo rig,
 Make Berenice's periwig ?¹
 Whose liv'ry does the Coachman² wear ? 845
 Or who made Cassiopeia's chair ?³
 And therefore as they came from hence,
 With us may hold intelligence
 Plato deny'd the world can be
 Govern'd without geometry⁴ 850
 For money being the common scale
 Of things by measure, weight and tale,
 In all the affairs of church and state
 'Tis both the balance and the weight
 Then much less can it be without 855
 Divine astrology made out
 That puts the other down in worth,
 As far as heaven's above earth
 These reasons quoth the Knight, I grant
 Are something more significant 860
 Than any that the learned use
 Upon this subject to produce ,

¹ Meaning the constellation called Coma Berenices Berenice the wife of Ptolemy Evergetes king of Egypt made a vow when her husband under took his expedition into Syria that if he returned safe she would cut off and dedicate her hair to Venus and this on his return she fulfilled. The offering by some accident being lost Conon the mathematician, to soothe her feelings declared that her hair was carried up to heaven where it was formed into seven stars near the tail of the Lion Hence the constellation of this name

² The constellation Auriga near that of Cassiopeia which lies near those of Cepheus Perseus and Andromeda

³ A constellation in the northern hemisphere consisting of 55 stars

⁴ Plato out of fondness for geometry employed it in all his systems He used to say that the Deity governed the world on geometrical principles, performing everything by weight and measure

And yet they're far from satisfactory,
 T establish and keep up your factory
 Th Egyptians say, the sun has twice ¹ 865
 Shifted his setting and his rise,
 Twice has he risen in the west,
 As many times set in the east,
 But whether that be true or no,
 The devil any of you know 870
 Some hold the heavens like a top,
 Are kept by circulation up ²
 And were t not for their wheeling round,
 They d instantly fall to the ground
 As sage Empedocles of old ³ 875
 And from him modern authors hold
 Plato believ d the sun and moon
 Below all other planets run ⁴
 Some Mercury, some Venus seat
 Above the sun himself in height 880

¹ The Egyptian priests informed Herodotus that in the space of 11 340 years the sun had four times risen and set out of its usual course rising twice where it now sets and setting twice where it now rises See Herodotus (Bohn's transl p 152) Spenser alludes to this supposed miracle in his *Fairy Queen* book v c 1 stanza 6 *et seq* Such a phenomenon might have been observed by some who had ventured beyond the equator, to the south exploring the continent of Africa for there to any one standing with his face to the sun at noon it would appear that the sun had risen on his *right* hand and was about to set on his *left*

It is mentioned as one of the opinions of Anaxagoras that the heaven was composed of stone and was kept up by violent circumrotation, but would fall when the rapidity of that motion should be remitted Some do Anaxagoras the honour to suppose that this conceit of his gave the first hint towards the modern theory of the planetary motions

³ Empedocles was a philosopher of Agrigentum in Sicily of the 5th cent B C He was equally famous for his knowledge of natural history and medicine and as a poet and a state man and it is generally related that he threw himself into Mount Etna so that by suddenly disappearing he might establish his claim to divinity but Diogenes Laertius gives a more rational account of his death He maintained the motions of the sun and the planets but held that the stars were composed of fire and fixed in a crystal sphere and that the sun was a body of fire Some of these opinions are embodied in Shakspeare's familiar lines

Doubt that the stars are fire

Doubt that the sun doth move &c

⁴ The Knight further argues that there can be no foundation for truth in astrology since the learned differ so much about the planets themselves, from which astrologers chiefly drew their predictions

The learned Scaliger complain d
 'Gainst what Copernicus maintain d,¹
 That in twelve hundred years and odd,²
 The sun had left his ancient road
 And nearer to the Earth is come 885
 Bove fifty thousand miles from home
 Swore twas a most notorious flam,
 And he that had so little shame
 To vent such fopperies abroad
 Deserv d to have his rump well claw'd 890
 Which Monsieur Bodin hearing swore
 That he deserv d the rod much more,³
 That durst upon a truth give doom,
 He knew less than the pope of Rome⁴
 Cardan believ d great states depend 895
 Upon the tip o th Bear s tail s end⁵
 That as she whisk d it t wards the sun
 Strow d mighty empires up and down ,

¹ Copernicus thought that the eccentricity of the sun or the obliquity of the ecliptic had been diminished by many parts since the times of Ptolemy and Hipparchus On which Scaliger observed that the writings of Copernicus deserved a sponge or their author a rod

² Instead of this and the seven following lines the editions of 1664 read

About the sun s and earth s approach
 And swore that he that dar d to broach
 Such paltry fopperies abroad
 Deserv d to have his rump well claw d

³ John Bodin an eminent geographer and lawyer born at Angers died at Laon, 1596 aged 67 He agreed with Copernicus and other famous astronomers that the circle of the earth had approached nearer to the sun than it was formerly He was alternately superstitious and sceptical and is said to have been at different times a Protestant a Papist a deist a sorcerer, a Jew and an atheist

⁴ *Var* He knew no more than th pope of Rome in the editions of 1664

⁵ Cardan a physician and astrologer born at Pavia 1501 He held that particular stars influenced particular countries and that the fate of the greatest kingdoms in Europe was determined by the tail of Ursa Major He cast the nativity of Edward VI and foretold his death it is said, correctly He then foretold the time of his own death and when the day drew near, finding himself in perfect health he starved himself to death, rather than disgrace his science Scaliger said that in certain things he appeared superior to human understanding and in a great many others inferior to that of little children See Bayle s Dict Tennemann s History of Philosophy, p 263

Which others say must needs be false,
 Because your true bears have no tails ¹ 900
 Some say, the zodiac constellations ²
 Have long since chang'd their antique stations ³
 Above a sign and prove the same
 In Taurus now once in the Ram,
 Affirm'd the Trignons chopp'd and chang'd, 900
 The wat'ry with the fiery rang'd ⁴
 Then how can their effects still hold
 To be the same they were of old?
 This, though the art were true would make
 Our modern soothsayers mistake ⁵ 910
 And is one cause they tell more lies,
 In figures and nativities,
 Than th' old Chaldean conjurers,
 In so many hundred thousand years, ⁶
 Beside their nonsense in translating, 915
 For want of accidence and Latin,

¹ This was a vulgar error originating in the shortness of the bear's tail

² In the editions of 1664, this and the following lines stand thus

Some say the stars 1th zodiac
 Are more than a whole sign gone back
 Since Ptolemy and prove the same
 In Taurus now, then in the Ram

The alteration was made in the edition of 1674

³ The Knight, still further to lessen the credit of astrology observes that the stars have suffered a considerable variation of their longitude, by the precession of the equinoxes for instance the first star of Aries, which in the time of Meton the Athenian was found in the very intersection of the ecliptic and equator is now removed eastward more than thirty degrees, so that the sign Aries possesses the place of Taurus Taurus that of Gemini, and so on

⁴ The twelve signs are in astrology divided into four trigons, each named after one of the four elements accordingly there are three fiery, three airy, three watery, and three earthly

Fiery—Aries, Leo Sagittarius
 Earthly—Taurus Virgo Capricornus
 Airy—Gemini Libra Aquarius
 Watery—Cancer, Scorpio Pisces

⁵ See Dr Bentley's Boyle Lectures Sermon iii

⁶ The Chaldeans as Cicero remarks, pretended to have been in possession of astrological knowledge for the space of 47,000 years,

Like *Idus* and *Calendæ* Englisht
 The Quarter days by skilful linguist¹
 And yet with canting slight and cheat,
 'Twill serve their turn to do the feat, 920
 Make fools believe in their foreseeing
 Of things before they are in being,
 To swallow gudgeons ere they re catch'd,
 And count their chickens ere they re hatch'd,²
 Make them the constellations prompt 925
 And give em back their own accompt,
 But still the best to him that gives
 The best price for t or best believes
 Some towns and cities some for brevity,
 Have cast the versal world's nativity, 930
 And made the infant stars confess
 Like fools or children what they please
 Some calculate the hidden fates
 Of monkeys, puppy dogs and cats,
 Some running nags, and fighting cocks, 935
 Some love, trade, law suits and the pox
 Some take a measure of the lives
 Of fathers, mothers, husbands wives,
 Make opposition, trine and quartile,
 Tell who is barren and who fertile, 940
 As if the planet's first aspect
 The tender infant did infect³

¹ Mr Smith of Harleston says this is probably a banter upon Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of Horace *Epod* ii 69-70

Omnem relegit idibus pecuniam,
 Quærit calendis ponere

At Michaelmas calls all his monies in,
 And at our Lady puts them out again

The 15th of March May July and October and the 13th of all other months were the Ides The 1st of every month was the Calends

² Handbook of Proverbs pp 81 &c See also L. Estrange's *Fables*, Part ii fab 205 and *Spectator* No 535

³ The accent is laid upon the last syllable of aspect Astrologers reckon five aspects of the planets conjunction sextile quartile trine, and opposition Sextile denotes their being distant from each other a sixth part of a circle or two signs quartile a fourth part or three signs trine a third part, or four signs opposition half the circle or directly opposite It was the opinion of judicial astrologers that whatever good disposition the infant might otherwise have been endued with, yet if its birth was, by any

In soul and body, and instil
 All future good and future ill,
 Which in their dark fatal'ties lurking, 940
 At destin'd periods fall a working,
 And break out like the hidden seeds
 Of long diseases into deeds
 In friendships, enmities, and strife,
 And all th' emergencies of life 950
 No sooner does he peep into
 The world but he has done his do,
 Catch'd all diseases, took all physick
 That cures or kills a man that is sick,
 Marry'd his punctual dose of wives ¹ 955
 Is cuckolded and breaks or thrives
 There's but the twinkling of a star
 Between a man of peace and war,
 A thief and justice, fool and knave,
 A huffing officer and a slave, 960
 A crafty lawyer and pick pocket,
 A great philosopher and a blockhead,
 A formal preacher and a player,
 A learn'd physician and man slayer
 As if men from the stars did suck 965
 Old age diseases and ill luck
 Wit folly, honour virtue, vice,
 Trade, travel women claps, and dice,
 And draw with the first air they breathe,
 Battle and murder, sudden death ² 970
 Are not these fine commodities
 To be imported from the skies,

accident, so accelerated or retarded that it fell in with the predominance of a malignant constellation this momentary influence would entirely change its nature, and bias it to all contrary ill qualities See a fine banter on this foolish notion in Hotspur's reply to Glendower's astrology in Henry the Fourth Part I Act iii

¹ Punctual dose is the precise number of wives to which he was predestined by the planetary influence predominant at his birth An old proverb says, the first confers matrimony the second company, the third heresy

² This is one of the petitions in the litany, which the dissenters objected to, especially the words sudden death See Bennet's London Cases abridged, ch iv p 100

And vended here among the rabble,
 For staple goods and warrantable?²
 Like money by the Druids borrow'd, 975
 In th' other world to be restored¹
 Quoth Sidrophel To let you know
 You wrong the art and artists too
 Since arguments are lost on those
 That do our principles oppose, 980
 I will, altho' I've don't before
 Demonstrate to your sense once more,
 And draw a figure that shall tell you
 What you perhaps forget befell you,
 By way of horary inspection,² 985
 Which some account our worst erection
 With that he circles draws and squares,
 With cyphers astral characters
 Then looks em o'er to understand em,
 Altho' set down hab nab at random³ 990
 Quoth he, This scheme of th' heavens set,
 Discovers how in fight you met
 At Kingston, with a may pole idol⁴
 And that y' were bang'd both back and side well

¹ That is astrologers, by endeavouring to persuade men that the stars have dealt out to them their future fortunes are guilty of a similar fraud with the Druids who borrowed money on a promise of repaying it after death. This practice among the Druids was founded on their doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Purchas speaks of some who barter with the people upon bills of exchange to be paid a hundred for one in heaven.

² The horoscope is the point of the heavens which rises above the eastern horizon, at any particular moment.

³ Nares says *habbe or nabbe* have or have not hit or miss at a venture quasi, *have or n'ave*, i. e. have not as *will* for *will not*. The citizens in their rage imagining that every post in the church had bin one of their souldiers shot *habbe or nabbe*, at random. Holmshed, Hist. of Ireland F. 2 col. 2.

⁴ Butler here alludes to the spurious second part of Hudibras published 1663. The first annotator informs us that there was a notorious idiot, here described by the name of *Whacum* who had counterfeited a second part of Hudibras as untowardly as Captain *Po* who could not write himself, and yet made shift to stand in the Pillory for forging other men's hands as this fellow *Whacum* no doubt deserved. In this spurious production the rencounters of Hudibras at Brentford the transactions of a mountebank whom he met with and probably these adventures of the may pole at Kingston, are described at length. By drawing on that spurious pub-

And tho' you overcame the bear, 995
 The dogs beat you at Brentford fair,
 Where sturdy butchers broke your noddle,
 And handled you like a fop doodle¹
 Quoth Hudibras, I now perceive
 You are no conjurer, by your leave, 1000
 That paltry story is untrue,
 And forg'd to cheat such gulls as you
 Not true? quoth he howe'er you vapour,
 I can what I affirm make appear,
 Whachum shall justify t to your face, 1005
 And prove he was upon the place
 He play'd the saltimbancho's part,²
 Transform'd t a Frenchman by my art,
 He stole your cloak, and pick'd your pocket,
 Chous'd and cald's d you like a blockhead,³ 1010
 And what you lost I can produce,
 If you deny it here i the house
 Quoth Hudibras, I do believe
 That argument's demonstrative,
 Ralpho, bear witness, and go fetch us 1015
 A constable to seize the wretches
 For tho' they're both false knaves and cheats,
 Impostors, jugglers, counterfeits
 I'll make them serve for perpendiculars,
 As true as e'er were us'd by bricklayers 1020
 They're guilty, by their own confessions,
 Of felony, and at the sessions,
 Upon the bench I will so handle 'em,
 That the vibration of this pendulum

lication for incidents in our hero's life, the astrologer betrays his ignorance of the facts and Butler ingeniously contrives to publish the cheat

¹ That is, a silly vain, empty pated fellow

² Saltimbanque is a French word, signifying a quack or mountebank. Perhaps it was originally Italian.

³ Caldes d is a word of the poet's own coining, and signifies, in the opinion of Warburton, "putting the fortune teller upon you" as the Chaldea's were great fortune tellers. Others suppose it may be derived from the Caldees, or Culdees. In Butler's Remains, vol. i 24, it seems to mean hoodwinked or blinded.

Asham'd that men so grave and wise
Should be chaldes'd by gnats and flies

⁴ i e perfectly true or upright, like a bricklayer's plumb line

Shall make all tailors yards of one 1020
 Unanimous opinion ¹
 A thing he long has vapour d of,
 But now shall make it out by proof
 Quoth Sidrophel, I do not doubt
 To find friends that will bear me out ² 1030
 Nor have I hazarded my art,
 And neck, so long on the State s part,
 To be expos d i th end to suffer
 By such a braggadocio huffer ³
 Huffer! quoth Hudibras, this sword 1030
 Shall down thy false throat cram that word
 Ralpho, make haste and call an officer,
 To apprehend this Stygian sophister, ⁴
 Meanwhile I ll hold em at a bay
 Lest he and Whachum run away 1040

¹ The device of the vibration of a pendulum was intended to settle a certain measure of ells yards &c all the world over which should have its foundation in nature For by swinging a weight at the end of a string and calculating by the motion of the sun or any star how long the vibration would last in proportion to the length of the string and weight of the pendulum they thought to reduce it back again and from any part of time compute the exact length of any string that must necessarily vibrate for such a period of time So that if a man should ask in China for a quarter of an hour of satin or taffeta they would know perfectly well what he meant and the measure of things would be reckoned no more by the yard, foot, or inch, but by the hour quarter and minute See Butler's Remains by Thyer, vol i p 30 for the following illustration of this notion

By which he had composed a pedlar s jargon,
 For all the world to learn and use to bargain,
 An universal canting idiom
 To understand the swinging pendulum,
 And to communicate in all designs
 With th Eastern virtuoso mandarines

Elephant in the Moon

The moderns perhaps will not be more successful in their endeavours to establish a universal standard of weights and measures

² William Lilly wrote and prophesied for the Parliament, till he perceived their influence decline He then changed sides, but having declared himself rather too soon he was taken into custody and escaped only as he tells us himself by the interference of friends, and by cancelling the offensive leaf in his almanack

³ Huff means to bully or brow beat

⁴ i e *hellish* sophister

But Sidrophel who from the aspect
 Of Hudibras did now erect
 A figure worse portending far,
 Than that of most malignant star
 Believ'd it now the fittest moment 1045
 To shun the danger that might come on t,
 While Hudibras was all alone
 And he and Whachum two to one
 This being resolv'd, he spy'd by chance,
 Behind the door an iron lance ¹ 1050
 That many a sturdy limb had gor'd
 And legs and loins, and shoulders bor'd,
 He snatch'd it up and made a pass,
 To make his way thro' Hudibras
 Whachum had got a fire fork ² 1055
 With which he vow'd to do his work,
 But Hudibras was well prepar'd
 And stoutly stood upon his guard
 He put by Sidrophello's thrust,
 And in right manfully he rusht 1060
 The weapon from his gripe he wrung,
 And laid him on the earth along
 Whachum his sea coal prong threw by,
 And basely turn'd his back to fly,
 But Hudibras gave him a twitch 1065
 As quick as lightning in the breech,
 Just in the place where honour's lodg'd,³
 As wise philosophers have judg'd
 Because a kick in that part more
 Hurts honour than deep wounds before 1070
 Quoth Hudibras, The stars determine
 You are my prisoners base vermin
 Could they not tell you so, as well
 As what I came to know, foretell?

¹ A spit for roasting meat

Spelt fier fork in the old editions, so as to make fire a dissyllable

³ Butler in his speech at the Rota says (Genuine Remains, vol. i p. 323) 'Some are of opinion that honour is seated in the rump only chiefly at least for it is observed that a small kick on that part does more hurt and wound honour than a cut on the head or face or a stab, or a shot of a pistol, on any other part of the body'

By this, what cheats you are we find 1075
 That in your own concerns are blind ¹
 Your lives are now at my dispose
 To be redeem'd by fine or blows
 But who his honour would defile
 To take or sell two lives so vile ? 1080
 I'll give you quarter but your pillage
 The conqu'ring warrior's crop and tillage
 Which with his sword he reaps and plows,
 That's mine the law of arms allows
 This said in haste in haste he fell 1085
 To rummaging of Sidrophel
 First he expounded both his pockets
 And found a watch with rings and lockets
 Which had been left with him t'rect
 A figure for and so detect 1090
 A copper plate with armaments
 Engrav'd upon it with other knacks ²
 Of Bookers Lillys Sarah Jimmers ³
 And blank schemes to discover nimmers ⁴
 A moon dial with Napier's bones ⁵ 1095
 And several constellation stones

¹ 'Astrologers says Agrippa while they gaze on the stars for direction fall into ditches wells and grols that is while they foretell what is to happen to other cannot tell what will happen to themselves The crafty Tiberius not content with a promise of empire examined the astrologer concerning his own horoscope intending to drown him on the least appearance of falsehood But Thrasvillus was too cunning for him and immediately answered that he perceived himself at that instant to be in imminent danger and added that he was destined to die just ten years before the emperor himself Tacit Ann vi 21 Dio lvi 27

² That is mark or signs belonging to the astrologer's art *Knack* also signifies a bauble

³ Three astrologers John Booker was born at Manchester in 1601 and after being apprenticed to a haberdasher became clerk first to a justice of the peace and afterwards to a London alderman He is said to have had great skill in judging of thefts Lilly has frequently been mentioned Sarah Jimmers called by Lilly Sarah Skilhorn was a great speculatrix or *medium* as she would now be called She was celebrated for the power of her eyes in looking into a speculum and Lilly tells a strange story of angels showing her a red waistcoat being taken out of a trunk at 12 miles distance and the day before the act

⁴ From the Anglo Saxon *niman* meaning thieves or pilferers

⁵ Lord Napier of Merchiston the inventor of Logarithms, also invented

Engrav'd in planetary hours,
 That over mortals had strange powers
 To make them thrive in law or trade,
 And stab or poison to evade, 1100
 In wit or wisdom to improve,
 And be victorious in love
 Whachum had neither cross nor pile,¹
 His plunder was not worth the while,
 All which the conqueror did discompt, 1105
 To pay for curing of his rump
 But Sidrophel as full of tricks
 As Rota men of politics²
 Straight cast about to over reach
 Th unwary conqueror with a fetch, 1110
 And make him glad at least to quit
 His victory and fly the pit,
 Before the secular prince of darkness³
 Arriv'd to seize upon his carcass
 And, as a fox with hot pursuit,⁴ 1115
 Chas'd through a warren cast about
 To save his credit and among
 Dead vermin on a gallows hung

a contrivance for performing multiplication The numbers were marked on little square rods which being made of ivory were called Napier's bones His lordship was one of the early members of the Royal Society, which the poet takes frequent occasions to banter

¹ Money frequently bore a cross on one side and the head of a spear or arrow (pilum) on the other *Cross* and *pile* were our heads and tails Thus Swift says This I humbly conceive to be perfect boy's play *cross*, I win, and *pile*, you lose

² Harrington having devised the scheme of popular government which is described in his Oceana endeavoured to promote it by a club of which Henry Nevil, Charles Wolseley John Wildman, and Doctor (afterwards Sir William) Petty, were members which met in New Palace yard, Westminster This club was called the Rota in consequence of a proposal that, in the projected House of Commons a third part of the members should 'rote out by ballot every year and be ineligible for three years

³ The constable who keeps the peace at night

⁴ Olaus Magnus has related many such stories of the fox's cunning his imitating the barking of a dog feigning himself dead ridding himself of fleas, by going gradually into the water with a lock of wool in his mouth and when the fleas are driven into it leaving the wool in the water catching crab fish with his tail all of which the author avers to be truth on his own knowledge Ol Mag Hist 1 18

And while the dogs ran underneath
 Escap'd by counterfeiting death, 1120
 Not out of cunning, but a train
 Of atoms jostling in his brain,¹
 As learn'd philosophers give out
 So Sidrophello cast about,
 And fell to 's wonted trade again 1125
 To feign himself in earnest slain ²
 First stretch'd out one leg then another,
 And, seeming in his breast to smother
 A broken sigh quoth he, Where am I?
 Alive, or dead? or which way came I 1130
 Thro' so immense a space so soon?
 But now I thought myself i th' moon
 And that a monster with huge whiskers,
 More formidable than a Switzer's
 My body thro' and thro' had drill'd 1135
 And Whachum by my side had kill'd,
 Had cross examin'd both our hose³
 And plunder'd all we had to lose,
 Look, there he is, I see him now
 And feel the place I am run thro' 1140
 And there lies Whachum by my side
 Stone dead and in his own blood dy'd
 Oh! oh! With that he fetch'd a groan
 And fell again into a swoon,
 Shut both his eyes and stopt his breath, 1145
 And to the life out acted death,
 That Hudibras to all appearing,
 Believ'd him to be dead as herring⁴

¹ The ancient atomic philosophers Democritus, Epicurus &c, held that sense in brutes and cogitation and volition in men were produced by the impression of corporeal atoms on the brain. But the author perhaps meant to ridicule Sir Kenelm Digby who relates this story of the fox, and maintains that there was no thought or cunning in it but merely a particular disposition of atoms

² See the scene of Falstaff's counterfeited death, Shakspeare Henry IV Part I Act v

³ Trunk hose with pockets to them

⁴ Shakspeare refers to this proverb in Merry Wives II 3 See also Bohn's Handbook of Proverbs, p 187

He held it now no longer safe,
 To tarry the return of Ralph, 1150
 But rather leave him in the lurch ¹
 Thought he he has abus'd our church,²
 Refused to give himself one firck,
 To carry on the Public work,
 Despis'd our Synod men like dirt, 1155
 And made their Discipline his sport,
 Divulg'd the secrets of their Classes,
 And their Conventions prov'd high places,³
 Disparag'd their tithe pigs as pagan,
 And set at nought their cheese and bacon, 1160
 Rail'd at their Covenant⁴ and jeer'd
 Their rev'rend parsons, to my beard,
 For all which scandals to be quit
 At once, this juncture falls out fit
 I'll make him henceforth to beware, 1165
 And tempt my fury, if he dare
 He must at least hold up his hand⁵
 By twelve freeholders to be scann'd,
 Who by their skill in palmistry⁶
 Will quickly read his destiny 1170
 And make him glad to read his lesson,
 Or take a turn for't at the session⁷
 Unless his Light and Gifts prove truer
 Than ever yet they did, I'm sure,
 For if he scape with whipping now, 1175
 'Tis more than he can hope to do

¹ The different sects of dissenters left each other in the lurch whenever an opportunity offered of promoting their own separate interest. In this instance they made a separate peace with the King, as soon as they found that the Independents were playing their own game.

² This and the following lines show that Hudibras represents the Presbyterians and Ralpho the Independents all the principal words being party catchwords.

³ That is corruptions in discipline. "When the devil tempted Christ he set him upon the highest pinnacle of the temple. Great preferments are great temptations." Butler's Remains.

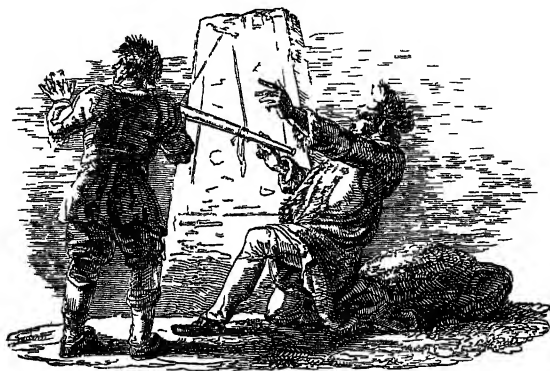
⁴ The Independents called the Covenant an almanack out of date.

⁵ Culprits when they are tried, hold up their hands at the bar.

⁶ Cheiromancy or telling fortunes by inspection of lines in the palm of the hand.

That is, claim the benefit of clergy or be hanged.

And that will disengage my conscience
Of th obligation in his own sense
I'll make him now by force abide
What he by gentle means deny'd, 1180
To give my honour satisfaction
And right the brethren in the action
This being resolv'd with equal speed
And conduct he approach'd his steed
And with activity unwont 1185
Essay'd the lofty beast to mount
Which once achiev'd he spur'd his palfry,
To get from th enemy and Ralph free
Left dangers fears and foes behind
And beat at least three lengths the wind 1190





AN HEROICAL EPISTLE
OF
HUDIBRAS TO SIDROPHEL¹

Ecce iterum Crispinus



ELL, Sidrophel, tho' 'tis in vain
To tamper with your crazy brain,
Without trepanning of your skull,²
As often as the moon s at full,
'Tis not amiss, ere ye re giv n o er, 5
To try one desp'rate med cine more,
For where your case can be no worse,
The desp rat st is the wisest course

¹ This Epistle was not published till many years after the preceding canto, and does not refer to the character there described. Sidrophel in the poem is most probably William Lilly the astrologer and almanack maker. But the Sidrophel of this Epistle is said to have been Sir Paul Nile, a conceited virtuoso, and member of the Royal Society. See note on line 86 *post*. The name Sidrophel had become proverbial for ignorance and imposture when the Epistle was written.

² A surgical operation to remove part of the skull when it presses upon the brain. It was said to restore the understanding and in that sense proposed as a remedy for the disorder with which Dean Swift was afflicted.

Is't possible that you whose ears
 Are of the tribe of Issachar s ¹ 10
 And might with equal reason either
 For merit or extent of leather
 With William Pryn s ² before they were
 Retrench d and crucify d, compare
 Shou d yet be deaf against a noise 15
 So roaring as the public voice ?
 That speaks your virtues free and loud,
 And openly in ev'ry crowd,
 As loud as one that sings his part
 T a wheel barrow or turnip cart, 20
 Or your new nick nam d old invention
 To cry green hastings with an engine ³
 As if the vehemence had stunn d
 And torn your drum heads with the sound ⁴
 And cause your folly s now no news 25
 But overgrown and out of use
 Persuade yourself there s no such matter ⁵
 But that tis vanish d out of nature
 When folly as it grows in years,
 The more extravagant appears 30
 For who but you could be possest
 With so much ignorance and beast
 That neither all men s scorn and hate
 Nor being laugh d and pointed at
 Nor bray d so often in a mortar ⁶ 35
 Can teach you wholesome sense and nurture

¹ Genesis xlix 14 'Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens

² See Part III Canto II 841 and note ~

³ In former times and indeed until the beginning of the present century, the earliest peas brought to the London market came from Hastings where they were grown it may be said forced, in exhausted lime pits These used to be cried about the streets by hawkers with stentorian voice 'Green hastings O In Butler s time these hawkers may have helped their lungs with a speaking pipe in which case this passage would point at Sir Samuel Morland s speaking trumpet then recently invented

⁴ Drum heads that is the drum of your ears

⁵ i. e. is it possible that you should *persuade yourself?*

⁶ That is pounded Though thou shouldst bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle yet will not his foolishness depart from him Prov xxvii 22

But, like a reprobate, what course
 Soever us'd grow worse and worse ?
 Can no transfusion of the blood,
 That makes fools cattle, do you good ? ¹ 40
 Nor putting pigs to a bitch to nurse
 To turn them into mongrel curs, ²
 Put you into a way, at least,
 To make you self a better beast ?
 Can all your critical intrigues 45
 Of trying sound from rotten eggs ³
 Your several new found remedies
 Of curing wounds and scabs in trees,
 Your art for fluxing them for claps
 And purging their infected saps, 50
 Recovering shankers, crystallines
 And nodes and blotches in their reins,
 Have no effect to operate
 Upon that duller block your pate ?
 But still it must be lewdly bent 55
 To tempt your own due punishment,
 And like your whimsy'd chariots, ⁴ draw
 The boys to course you without law ⁵

¹ In the last century some scientific members of the Royal Society made experiments in transfusing the blood of one animal into the veins of another and according to their account, the operation produced beneficial effects. It was even performed on human subjects. Dr Mackenzie has described the process in his *History of Health*, p. 431. Sir Edmund King a favourite of Charles II. was among the philosophers of his time who made this famous experiment. See *Phil Trans* abridged in 224. The lines from v. 39 to 59 allude to various projects of the first establishers of the Royal Society. See Birch's *History of that body* vol. i. 303 vol. ii. 48 *et seq.* *That makes fools cattle* i. e. fools for admitting the blood of cattle into their veins.

² A curious story is told from Giraldus Cambiensis of a sow that was suckled by a bitch and acquired the sagacity of a hound or spaniel. See Butler's *Remains* vol. i. p. 12.

³ On the first establishment of the Royal Society some of the members engaged in the investigation of these and similar subjects. The Society was incorporated July 15, 1662.

⁴ The scheme proposed by the Society was probably the cart to go with legs instead of wheels mentioned Part III. Canto I. line 1563 or perhaps the famous sailing chariot of Stevinus which was moved by sails and carried twenty eight passengers over the sands of Scheveling, fourteen Dutch miles (nearly fifty four English) in two hours.

⁵ That is, to follow you close at the heels.

As if the art you have so long
 Profess'd of making old dogs young¹ 60
 In you had virtue to renew
 Not only youth but childhood too,
 Can you that understand all books
 By judging only with your looks
 Resolve all problems with your face, 65
 As others do with B's and A's
 Unriddle all that mankind knows
 With solid bending of your brows?
 All arts and sciences advance
 With screwing of your countenance, 70
 And with a penetrating eye
 Into the abstrusest learning pry
 Know more of any trade than hunt
 Than those that have been bred up in it
 And yet have no art true or false 75
 To help your own bad naturals,²
 But still the more you strive to appear
 Are found to be the wretcheder
 For fools are known by looking wise
 As men find woodcocks by their eyes 80
 Hence 'tis because ye've gained o' the college³
 A quarter share at most of knowledge
 And brought in none but spent repute
 Yet assume a power as absolute
 To judge and censure and controul, 85
 As if you were the sole Sn Poll³

¹ See Butler's *Genuine Remains* vol. ii p. 188. His want of judgment inclines him naturally to the most extravagant undertakings like that of 'making old dogs young' corking up of words in bottles &c

² Though the Royal Society removed from Gresham college on account of the fire of London it returned there again 1674 being the year in which this Epistle was published

³ Nash thinks that the character of Sidrophel in this Epistle was designed for Sir Paul Neale who had offended Mr Butler by saying that he was not the author of *Hudibras*. And this opinion is confirmed by Mr Thyer who in Butler's *Remains* says 'he can assure the reader upon the poet's own authority that the character of Sidrophel was intended for a picture of Sir Paul Neale son of Richard Neale (whose father was a chandler in Westminster) who as Anthony Wood says went through all degrees and orders in the church school master curate vicar &c &c

And saucily pretend to know
 More than your dividend comes to
 You'll find the thing will not be done
 With ignorance and face alone 90
 No tho' ye've purchas'd to your name,
 In history, so great a fame,
 That now your talents so well known,
 For having all belief out grown,
 That ev'ry strange prodigious tale 95
 Is measur'd by your German scale,¹
 By which the virtuosi try
 The magnitude of ev'ry lie,
 Cast up to what it does amount,
 And place the biggest to your account, 100
 That all those stories that are laid
 Too truly to you, and those made
 Are now still charg'd upon your score,
 And lesser authors nam'd no more
 Alas! that faculty betrays² 105
 Those soonest it designs to raise
 And all your vain renown will spoil
 As guns o'ercharg'd the more recoil,
 Though he that has but impudence,
 To all things has a fair pretence 110
 And put among his wants but shame,
 To all the world may lay his claim
 Tho' you have tried that nothing's borne
 With greater ease than public scorn,
 That all affronts do still give place 115
 To your impenetrable face
 That makes your way thro' all affairs,
 As pigs thro' hedges creep with theirs
 Yet as 'tis counterfeit and brass,
 You must not think twill always pass, 120

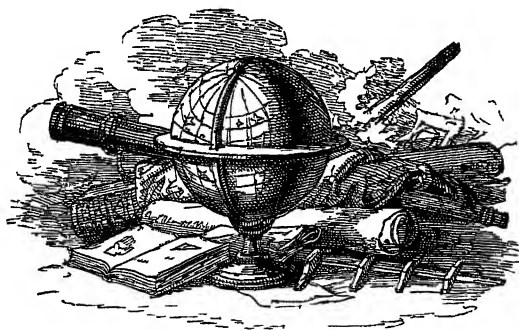
and at last was archbishop of York Sir Paul was one of the first establishers of the Royal Society which, in the dawn of science listening to many things that appeared trifling and incredible to the generality of the people became the butt and sport of the wits of the time

¹ All incredible stories are now measured by your standard One German mile is equal to five English miles

² *Var* Destroys in some early editions

For all impostors when they re known,
 Are past their labour and undone ¹
 And all the best that can befall
 An artificial natural,
 Is that which madmen find, as soon 120
 As once they re broke loose from the moon,
 And proof agast her influence,
 Relapse to e^{er} so h^{igh} the sense,
 To turn stark fools, and subjects fit
 For sport of boys, and rabble wit 130

¹ See Butler's Character of an Impudent Man "He that is impudent is like a merchant who trades upon his credit without a stock, and if his debts were known, would break immediately



PART III CANTO I



ARGUMENT

The Knight and Squire resolve at once,
The one the other to renounce,
They both approach the Lady's bower,
The Squire to inform the Knight to woo her
She treats them with a masquerade,
By furies and hobgoblins made,
From which the Squire conveys the Knight,
And steals him, from himself, by night

PART III CANTO I

T
IS true no lover has that pow
 To enforce a desperate amour
 As he that has two strings to s bow
 And burns for love and money too
 For then he s brave and resolute
 Disdains to render¹ in his suit
 Has all his flames and raptures double
 And hangs or drowns with half the trouble
 While those who sillily pursue
 The simple downright way and true
 Make as unlucky applications
 And steel against the stream their passions
 Some forge their mistresses of stars
 And when the ladies prove averse,
 And more untoward to be won
 Than by Caligula the moon²
 Cry out upon the stars for doing
 Ill offices to cross their wooing
 When only by themselves they re hindred
 For trusting those they made her kindred³
 And still the harsher and hide bounder
 The damsels prove become the fonder
 For what mad lover ever dy d
 To gain a soft and gentle bride ?

¹ That is surrender or give up from the French *s'endre*

This was one of the extravagant folles of Caligula He assumed to be a god and boasted of embracing the moon See Suetonius Life of Caligula (Bohn s edit p 266)

³ The meaning is that when men have flattered their mistresses extravagantly and declared them to be more than human they must not be surprised or complain if they are treated in return with that distant reserve which superior beings may rightly exercise towards inferior creatures

Or for a lady tender hearted, 20
 In purling streams or hemp departed ?
 Leap't headlong int Elysium,
 Thro th windows of a dazzling room ? ¹
 But for some cross ill natur d dame,
 The am rous fly burnt in his flame 30
 This to the Knight could be no news,
 With all mankind so much in use
 Who therefore took the wiser course,
 To make the most of his amours,
 Resolv d to try all sorts of ways, 35
 As follows in due time and place
 No sooner was the bloody fight
 Between the wizard and the Knight,
 With all th appurtenances, over,
 But he relaps'd again t a lover , 40
 As he was always wont to do,
 When he ad discomfited a foe,
 And us d the only antique philters,
 Deriv d from old heroic tilters ²
 But now triumphant and victorious 45
 He held th atchievement was too glorious
 For such a conqueror to meddle
 With pettv constable or beadle ,
 Or fly for refuge to the hostess
 Of th inns of court and chanc ry, Justice , 50
 Who might, perhaps reduce his cause
 To th ordeal trial of the laws , ³

¹ Drowned themselves Objects reflected by water appear nearly the same as when they are viewed through the windows of a room so high from the ground that it dazzles to look down from it Thus Juvenal, Sat vi v 31 *Altæ caligantes fenestræ* which Holyday translates, dazzling high windows

The heroes of romance endeavoured to conciliate the affections of their mistresses by the fame of their illustrious exploits So was Desdemona won Othello Act i

² She lov'd me for the dangers I had past

³ *Ordeal* comes from the Anglo Saxon *ordal* and signifies judgment The methods of trial by fire water or combat were in use till the time of Henry III and the right of exercising them was annexed to several lordships or manors At this day when a culprit is arraigned at the bar and asked how he will be tried, he is directed to answer, "by God and my

Where none escape, but such as branded
 With red hot irons have past bare handed ,
 And if they cannot read one verse 50
 I th Psalms, must sing it, and that s worse ¹
 He therefore, judging it below him
 To tempt a shame the dev l might owe him
 Resolv d to leave the Squire for bail
 And mainprize for him to the jail, 60
 To answer with his vessel ² all
 That might disastrously betall
 He thought it now the fittest juncture
 To give the Lady a rencounter
 T acquaint her with his expedition 65
 And conquest o er the fierce magician
 Describe the manner of the fray
 And show the spoils he brought away
 His bloody scourging aggravate
 The number of the blows and weight 70
 All which might probably succeed
 And gain belief he ad done the deed
 Which he resolv d t enforce and spare
 No pawning of his soul to swear
 But rather than produce his back, 75
 To set his conscience on the rack ,
 And in pursuance of his urging
 Of articles perform d and scourging
 And all things else upon his part,
 Demand delivery of her heart 80

country by the verdict or solemn opinion of a jury By God only would formerly have meant the ordeal which referred the case immediately to the divine judgment

¹ In former times when scholarship was rare and almost confined to priests a person who was tried for any capital crime except treason or sacrilege might obtain an acquittal by *praying his clergy* the meaning of which was to call for a Latin Bible and read a passage in it generally selected from the Psalms If he exhibited this capacity the ordinary certified *quod legit* and he was saved as a person of learning who might be useful to the state otherwise he was hanged Hence the saying among the people that if they could not read their neck verse at sessions, they must sing it at the gallows, it being customary to give out a psalm to be sung preliminary to the execution

² In the use of this term the saints unwittingly concurred with the old philosophers, who also called the body a vessel

Her goods and chattels, and good graces,
 And person up to his embraces
 Thought he the ancient errant knight's
 Won all their ladies hearts in fights,
 And cut whole giants into fitters,¹ 8,
 To put them into am'rous twitters,
 Whose stubborn bowels scorn'd to yield,
 Until their gallants were half kill'd
 But when their bones were drubb'd so sore,
 They durst not woo one combat more 90
 The ladies hearts began to melt
 Subdu'd by blows their lovers felt
 So Spanish heroes with their lances,
 At once wound bulls and ladies fancies,²
 And he acquires the noblest spouse 95
 That widows greatest herds of cows,
 Then what may I expect to do
 Who've quell'd so vast a buffalo?
 Meanwhile the Squire was on his way,
 The Knight's late orders to obey 100
 Who sent him for a strong detachment
 Of beadles constables, and watchmen
 To attack the cunning man, for plunder
 Committed falsely on his lumber
 When he, who had so lately sack'd 105
 The enemy, had done the fact
 Had rifled all his pokes and fobs³
 Of gimcracks, whims, and juggumbobs⁴
 Which he by hook or crook had gather'd
 And for his own inventions father'd 110
 And when they should at jail delivery
 Unriddle one another's thievery

¹ Some editions read *fritters* but the corrected one of 1678 has *fitters* a phrase often used by romance writers very frequently by the author of the *Romaunt of Romaunts* *Fitters* signifies small fragments from *fetta*, Ital, *fetzen*, Germ

² The bull fights at Madrid have been frequently described The ladies have always taken a zealous part at these combats

³ That is large and small pockets *Poke* from *poche* a large pocket bag or sack So a pig in a poke

⁴ Knick knacks, or trinkets See Wright's Glossary

Both might have evidence enough
 To render neither halter proof¹
 He thought it desperate to tarry, 115
 And venture to be accessary
 But rather wisely slip his fetters
 And leave them for the Knight, his better
 He call'd to mind th' unjust foul play
 He would have offer'd him that day 120
 To make him curry his own hide,
 Which no beast ever did beside
 Without all possible evasion
 But of the riding dispensation²
 And therefore much about the hour 125
 The Knight for reasons told before
 Resolv'd to leave him to the fury
 Of justice and an unpack'd jury
 The Squire concurr'd to abandon him
 And seive him in the self same tim³ 130
 T' acquaint the lady what he'd done
 And what he meant to carry on
 What project 't was he went about
 When Sidrophel and he fell out

¹ The mutual accusations of the Knight and Sidrophel if established might hang both of them. *Halter proof* is to be in no danger from a halter as *mu ket proof* is to be in no danger from a *mu ket* to render neither halter proof is to leave both in danger of being hanged

² Ralpho considers that he should not have escaped the whipping intended for him by the Knight if their dispute had not been interrupted by the riding show or skimmington

³ The author has long had an eye to the selfishness and treachery of the leading parties the Presbyterians and Independents. A few lines below he speaks more plainly

In which both dealt as if they meant
 Their party saints to represent
 Who never fail'd upon their sharing
 In any prosperous arms bearing
 To lay themselves out to supplant
 Each other cousin german saint

The reader will remember that Hudibras represents the Presbyterians and Ralpho the the Independents this scene therefore alludes to the manner in which the latter supplanted the former in the civil war

His firm and stedfast resolution, 135
 To swear her to an execution,¹
 To pawn his inward ears to marry her,²
 And bribe the devil himself to carry her
 In which both dealt as if they meant
 Their party saints to represent, 140
 Who never fail'd upon their sharing
 In any prosperous arms bearing,
 To lay themselves out to supplant
 Each other cousin german saint
 But ere the Knight could do his part, 145
 The Squire had got so much the start,
 He d to the lady done his errand
 And told her all his tricks aforehand
 Just as he finish'd his report,
 The Knight alighted in the court, 150
 And having ty'd his beast to a pale,
 And taken time for both to stale,
 He put his band and beard in order
 The sprucer to accost and board her³
 And now began to approach the door 155
 When she who had spy'd him out before,
 Convey'd the informer out of sight
 And went to entertain the Knight
 With whom encountering, after longees⁴
 Of humble and submissive congees, 160
 And all due ceremonies paid,
 He strok'd his beard, and thus he said⁵

¹ To swear he had undergone the stipulated whipping, and then demand the performance of her part of the bargain

² His honour and conscience which might forfeit some of their immunities by perjury, as the outward ears do for the same crime in the sentence of the statute law

³ Thus in *Hamlet* Act II sc 2

I'll board him presently — O, give me leave —
 How does my good lord Hamlet?

See also *Twelfth Night* Act I sc 3 and *Taming of the Shrew*, Act I sc 2

⁴ Longees are thrusts made by fencers

⁵ 'And now being come within compass of discerning her, he began to frame the loveliest countenance that he could stroking up his legs, setting

Madam, I do, as is my duty,
 Honour the shadow of your shoe tie,¹
 And now am come, to bring your ear
 A present you'll be glad to hear
 At least I hope so the things done
 Or may I never see the sun
 For which I humbly now demand
 Performance at your gentle hand
 And that you'd please to do your part
 As I have done mine to my smart
 With that he shrugg'd his sturdy back
 As if he felt his shoulders ake
 But she who well enough knew what
 Before he spoke he would be at
 Pretended not to apprehend
 The mystery of what he meant,
 And therefore wish'd him to expound
 His dark expressions less profound
 Madam quoth he I come to prove
 How much I've suffer'd for your love
 Which, like your votary to win
 I have not spar'd my tatter'd skin²
 And for those meritorious lashes
 To claim your favour and good graces
 Quoth she I do remember once³
 I freed you from the enchanted scone⁴
 And that you promis'd for that favour
 To bind your back to its good behaviour⁵

up his beard in due order and standing bolt upright Sir Philip Sidney's
Arcadia lib. iii. p. 349 See also *Troilus and Cressida* Act i. *Cleveland's*
Maxt Assembly p. 43 *Don Quixote* Part i. book iii. chap. 12

¹ This rhyme is used before by Crashaw in his *Delights of the Muses*,
 published in 1646

I wish her beauty
 That owes not all its duty
 To gaudy tye, or glistening shoe ty

² Roman Catholics used to scourge themselves before the image of a
 favourite saint

³ The lady here with amusing affectation speaks as if the event had
 happened some time before, though in reality it was only the preceding day

⁴ From the stocks

⁵ Var To the good behaviour

And for my sake and service, vow'd
 To lay upon 't a heavy load,
 And what t would bear to a scruple prove,
 As other knights do oft make love
 Which whether you have done or no, 190
 Concerns yourself not me, to know,
 But if you have I shall confess
 Y are honester than I could guess
 Quoth he If you suspect my troth,
 I cannot prove it but by oath, 200
 And if you make a question on t,
 I'll pawn my soul that I have done 't
 And he that makes his soul his surety
 I think does give the best secur ty
 Quoth she, Some say the soul's secure 205
 Against distress and forfeiture,
 Is free from action and exempt
 From execution and contempt
 And to be summon d to appear
 In the other world s illegal here ¹ 210
 And therefore few make any account,
 Int what incumbrances they run t
 For most men carry things so even
 Between this world, and hell, and heaven,²
 Without the least offence to either, 215
 They freely deal in all together,
 And equally abhor to quit
 This world for both, or both for it
 And when they pawn and damn their souls,
 They are but pris ners on paroles 220
 For that, quoth he, tis rational
 They may be accountable in all

¹ Alluding to the famous story of Peter and John de Carvajal, who being unjustly condemned for murder and taken for execution summoned the king Ferdinand the Fourth of Spain to appear before God's tribunal in thirty days. The king laughed at the summons but it nevertheless disquieted him and though he remained apparently in good health on the day before he was found dead in his bed on the morning of the thirtieth day. Mariana says there can be no doubt of the truth of this story.

² Meaning the combination of saintship, or being righteous over much, with selfishness and knavery.

For when there is that intercourse
 Between divine and human powers,
 That all that we determine here 220
 Commands obedience ev'rywhere ¹
 When penalties may be commuted ²
 For fines or ears and executed,
 It follows nothing binds so fast
 As souls in pawn and mortgage past 230
 For oaths are th' only tests and scales ³
 Of right and wrong and true and false,
 And there's no other way to try
 The doubts of law and justice by
 Quoth she What is it you would swear? 235
 There's no believing till I hear
 For till they're understood all tales
 Like nonsense are not true nor false
 Quoth he When I resolv'd to obey
 What you commanded th' other day, 240
 And to perform my exercise
 As schools are wont, for your fair eyes,
 I avoid all scruples in the case,
 I went to do't upon the place
 But as the castle is enchanted 245
 By Sidrophel the witch and haunted
 With evil spirits as you know
 Who took my Squire and me for two ⁴
 Before I'd hardly time to lay
 My weapons by and disarray ⁵ 250
 I heard a formidable noise
 Loud as the Stentrophonic voice ⁶
 That roar'd far off Dispatch and strip
 I'm ready with th' infernal whip
 That shall divest thy ribs of skin, 255
 To expiate thy ling'ring sin

¹ The reference is to the text — 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven' Matthew XVIII. 13

² The Knight argues that, since temporal punishments may be mitigated and commuted, the best securities for truth and honesty are such oaths as his ³ *Var* *Seals* in edition of 1678

⁴ For two evil and delinquent spirits

⁶ Sir Samuel Morland's speaking trumpet was so called after Homer's far famed brazen-tongued Stentor See *Iliad*, v. 785

Thou'st broke perfidiously thy oath
 And not perform d thy plighted troth,
 But spar d thy renegado back
 Where thou dst so great a prize at stake ¹ 260
 Which now the fates have order d me
 For penance and revenge, to flea
 Unless thou presently make haste
 Time is, time was ¹²—and there it ceast
 With which, tho startled, I confess 265
 Yet th horror of the thing was less
 Than the other dismal apprehension
 Of interruption or prevention,
 And therefore snatching up the rod,
 I laid upon my back a load 270
 Resolv d to spare no flesh and blood,
 To make my word and honour good
 Till tir d, and taking truce at length,
 For new recruits of breath and strength,
 I felt the blows still ply d as fast, 275
 As if they d been by lovers plac d,
 In raptures of Platonic lashing
 And chaste contemplative bardashing ³
 When facing hastily about
 To stand upon my guard and scout ⁴ 280
 I found th' infernal cunning man,
 And the under witch, his Caliban,
 With scourges, like the furies arm d
 That on my outward quarters storm d
 In haste I snatch d my weapon up, 285
 And gave their hellish rage a stop
 Call'd thrice upon your name,⁵ and fell
 Courageously on Sidrophel

¹ The later editions read, *when thou dst*

² This was the famous saying of Roger Bacon's brazen head

³ The epithets chaste and contemplative are used ironically Bulwer in his *Artificial Changeling* p 209, says 'the Turks call those that are young and have no beards bardasses, that is, sodomitical boys'

⁴ Sir Samuel Luke it will be remembered, was scout master See p 4, note ²

⁵ In the romances of knight errantry the heroes always invoke their mistresses upon such occasions

Who now transform d himself t a bear
 Began to roar aloud and tear 290
 When I as furiously press d on ¹
 My weapon down his throat to run
 Laid hold on him but he broke loose,
 And turn d himself into a goose
 Div d under water in a pond 295
 To hide himself from being found
 In vain I sought him but as soon
 As I perceiv d him fled and gone
 Prepar'd with equal haste and rage,
 His under sorc rer to engage 300
 But bravely scorning to defile
 My sword with feeble blood and vile,
 I judg d it better from a quick
 Set hedge to cut a knotted stick
 With which I furiously laid on 305
 Till in a harsh and doleful tone,
 It roar d O hold for pity Sir,
 I am too great a sufferer ²
 Abus d as you have been b a witch
 But conjur d int a worse caprich ³ 310
 Who sends me out on many a jaunt
 Old houses in the night to haunt
 For opportunities t improve
 Designs of thievery or love
 With drugs convey d in drink or meat, 315
 All feats of witches counterfeit
 Kill pigs and geese with powder d glass
 And make it for enchantment pass
 With cow itch ⁴ meazle like a leper
 And choke with fumes of guinea pepper 320
 Make lechers and their punks with dewtry ⁵
 Commit fantastical advowtry

¹ Some editions read When I furiously—

² *O for pity* is a favourite expression frequently used by Spenser

³ That is whim, fancy from the Italian *capriccio*

⁴ Cowage or Cow itch (*Mucuna pruriens*) a plant introduced from the East Indies in 1680 the pod of which is covered with short hairs, which if applied to the skin cause great itching It is still sometimes used by country lads and lasses in various ways to tease each other with

⁵ *Dewtry* is the old English name for *Datura*, a plant belonging to the

Bewitch hermetic men to run ¹
 Stark staring mad with manicon ,
 Believe mechanic virtuosi 32.
 Can raise em mountains in Potosi , ²
 And silher than the antic fools
 Take treasure for a heap of coals ³
 Seek out for plants with signatures,
 To quack of universal cures ⁴ 330
 With figures ground on panes of glass,
 Make people on their herds to pass , ⁵

Natural Order of *Night shades* all of which are extremely narcotic, and by some old writer said to be intoxicating and *aphrodisiac* Stramonium is the English species One of the inquiries of the time, instigated by the Royal Society was as to the properties of Datura See Sprat's History of the Royal Society p 161, *et seq* *Adultery* signifies adultery and is so used by Bacon, in his Life of Henry VII

¹ Alchymists were called hermetic philosophers *Manicon* (or strychnon) is another narcotic and is so called from its power of causing madness Authors differ as to its modern name some supposing it to be the *Physalis*, or winter cherry others the *black night shade* See Pliny's Natural Hist (Bohn's edit) vol v p 241, 266 Banquo, in Shakspeare's Macbeth, seems to allude to it when he says

Were such things here as we do speak about?
 Or have we eaten of the insane root
 That takes the reason prisoner? Act 1

² A banter on the pretended Discoverers of the Philosopher's Stone, one of whom, Van Helmont, asserted in his book, that he had made nearly eight ounces of gold by projecting a gram of his powder upon eight ounces of quicksilver

³ The alchymists pretended to be able to transmute the baser metals into gold *Antic* means antique or ancient perhaps quizzing the Royal Society or Butler might mean those dreamers among the ancients who gave occasion to the proverb 'pro thesauro carbones' they dreamed of gold but on examination found coals it is frequently applied by Lucian and Phædrus It must be borne in mind however that *Carbon* is the constituent part of diamonds and gold as well as of coal

⁴ The signatures of plants were marks or figures upon them which were thought to point out their medicinal qualities Thus Wood sorrel was used as a cordial because its leaf is shaped like a heart Liverwort was given for disorders of the liver The herb Dragon was employed to counteract the effects of poison because its stem is speckled like some serpents The yellow juice of the Celandine recommended it for the cure of the jaundice, and Paracelsus said that the spots on the leaves of the *Persicaria maculosa* proved its efficacy in the scurvy

⁵ The multiplying glass concave mirror, camera obscura, and other inventions, which were new in our author's time, passed with the vulgar for enchantments and as the law against witches was then in force, the ex

And mighty heaps of corn increase,
 Reflected from a single piece,
 To draw in fools whose natural itches 335
 Incline perpetually to witches
 And keep me in continual fears
 And danger of my neck and ears,
 When less delinquents have been scourg'd
 And hemp on wooden anvils forg'd¹ 340
 Which others for cravats have worn
 About their necks and took a turn
 I pitied the sad punishment
 The wretched catfiff underwent
 And held my drubbing of his bones 345
 Too great an honour for poltroons
 For knights are bound to feel no blows
 From paltry and unequal foes²
 Who when they slash and cut to pieces
 Do all with civillest addresses 350
 Their horses never give a blow
 But when they make a leg and bow
 I therefore spar'd his flesh and prest him
 About the witch, with many a question
 Quoth he For many years he drove 355
 A kind of broking trade in love³
 Employ'd in all the intrigues, and trust,
 Of feeble, speculative lust
 Procurer to the extravagancy,
 And crazy ribaldry of fancy 360
 By those the devil had forsook
 As things below him to provoke
 But being a virtuoso able
 To smatter quack and cant and dabble
 He held his talent most adroit 365
 For any mystical exploit,

habitants of these curiosities were in some danger of being sentenced to
 Bridewell the pillory or the halter

¹ Alluding to the occupation of minor criminals in Bridewell, who beat
 the hemp with which greater criminals were hanged

² According to the rules of knight errantry See Don Quixote (book in
 ch. 1) and romances in general

³ Meaning that he was a pump, or pander

As others of his tribe had done,
 And rais'd their prices three to one,
 For one predicting pump has th' odds
 Of chaldrons of plain downright bawds 370
 But as an elf the devil's valet,
 Is not so slight a thing to get,¹
 For those that do his business best,
 In hell are us'd the ruggedest
 Before so meriting a person 375
 Could get a grant but in reversion
 He serv'd two prenticeships and longer,
 I' th' mystery of a lady monger
 For, as some write a witch's ghost,
 As soon as from the body loosed, 380
 Becomes a pious umpire itself,
 And is another witch's elf,
 He, after searching far and near,
 At length found one in Lancashire
 With whom he bargain'd beforehand, 385
 And, after hanging entertain'd
 Since which he's play'd a thousand feats,
 And practis'd all mechanic cheats
 Transform'd himself to th' ugly shapes
 Of wolves and bears baboons and apes 390
 Which he has varied more than witches,
 Or Pharaoh's wizards could their switches,
 And all with whom he's had to do,
 Turn'd to as monstrous figures too,
 Witness myself whom he's abus'd, 395
 And to this beastly shape reduc'd,
 By feeding me on beans and peas,
 He crams in nasty crevices
 And turns to comfits by his arts,
 To make me relish for desserts, 400
 And one by one with shame and fear,
 Lick up the candied provender

¹ William Lilly says he wait'd fourteen years before he could get an elf or ghost of a departed witch, but at last found one in Lancashire. This country has always been famous for witches but the ladies there are now so called out of compliment to their *witchery* or beauty.

Beside—But as h' was running on,
 To tell what other feats he d done,
 The lady stopt his full career, 400
 And told him now twas time to hear
 If half those things said she be true—
 They re all quoth he I swear by you
 Why then said she that Sidrophel
 Has damn d himself to th pit of hell 410
 Who mounted on a broom the nag¹
 And hackney of a Lapland hag
 In quest of you came hither post
 Within an hour I m sure at most
 Who told me all you swear and say 415
 Quite contrary another way
 Vow d that you came to him to know
 If you should carry me or no
 And would have hir d him and his umps,
 To be your match makers and pumps 420
 T engage the devil on your side
 And steal like Proserpine vour bride,
 But he disdainng to embrace
 So filthy a design, and base
 You fell to vapouring and huffing 425
 And drew upon him like a ruffian
 Surpris'd him meanly unprepar d
 Before he ad time to mount his guard, ,
 And left him dead upon the ground,
 With many a bruise and desperate wound 430
 Swore you had broke and robb d his house
 And stole his talismanique louse²
 And all his new found old inventions,
 With flat felonious intentions
 Which he could bring out where he had, 435
 And what he bought em for and paid

¹ Lapland is head quarters for witchcraft and it is from these Scandinavians that we derive the accepted tradition that witches ride through the air on broom sticks See Scheffer's History of Lapland, Mallet's Northern Antiquities, and Keightley's Fairy Mythology

² The poet intimates that Sidrophel being much plagued with lice, had made a talisman or formed a louse in a certain position of the stars, to chase away this kind of vermin

His flea, his morpion and punese¹
 He ad gotten for his proper ease,
 And all in perfect minutes made,
 By th' ablest artists of the trade 440
 Which, he could prove it since he lost,
 He has been eaten up almost,
 And altogether might amount
 To many hundreds on account,
 For which he ad got sufficient warrant 445
 To seize the malefactors errant
 Without capacity of bail,
 But of a cart's or horse's tail
 And did not doubt to bring the wretches
 To serve for pendulums to watches, 450
 Which, modern virtuosi say,
 Incline to hanging every way²
 Beside, he swore, and swore 'twas true,
 That ere he went in quest of you,
 He set a figure to discover 455
 If you were fled to Rye or Dover,
 And found it clear, that to betray
 Yourself and me, you fled this way,
 And that he was upon pursuit,
 To take you somewhere hereabout 460
 He vow'd he'd had intelligence
 Of all that pass'd before and since
 And found, that ere you came to him,
 Y' had been engaging life and limb
 About a case of tender conscience, 465
 Where both abounded in your own sense,
 Till Ralpho by his Light and Grace,
 Had clear'd all scruples in the case,
 And prov'd that you might swear, and own
 Whatever's by the Wicked done 470
 For which most basely to requite
 The service of his Gifts and Light,

¹ The talisman of a flea, a louse and a bug Morpion and Punaise are French terms

² Meaning the balance for watches which may be called a substitute for the pendulum, and was invented about our author's time by Dr Hooke

You strove to oblige him, by main force,
 To scourge his ribs instead of yours
 But that he stood upon his guard 475
 And all your vapouring outdared
 For which between you both the feat
 Has never been performed as yet
 While thus the lady talked the Knight
 Turned the outside of his eyes to white 480
 As men of Inward Light are wont
 To turn their optics in upon themselves¹
 He wondered how she came to know
 What he had done and meant to do
 Held up his affidavit hand² 485
 As if he'd been to be arraigned,
 Cast towards the door a ghastly look,
 In dread of Sidrophel and spoke
 Madam if but one word be true
 Of all the wizard has told you 490
 Or but one single circumstance
 In all the apocryphal romance
 May dreadful earthquakes swallow down
 This vessel that is all your own³
 Or may the heavens fall, and cover 495
 These relics of your constant lover⁴
 You have provided well quoth she
 I thank you for yourself and me

¹ The Dissenters are ridiculed for an affected sanctity and turning up the whites of their eyes which Echard calls showing the heavenly part of the eye Thus Ben Jonson in his story of Cocklossel and the Devil

To help it he called for a puritan poacht
 That used to turn up the eggs of his eyes

And Fenton (in his Epistle to Southerne)

Her eyes she disciplined periscopically right
 Both when to wink and how to turn the white

See also Tale of a Tub p 207

² When any one takes an oath he puts his right hand to the book that is to the New Testament and kisses it but the Covenanters in swearing refused to kiss the book saying it was Popish and superstitious and substituted the ceremony of holding up the right hand which they used also in taking any oath before the magistrate

³ This is an equivocation the 'vessel' is evidently not the abject suitor but the lady herself

⁴ The Knight still means the widow but speaks as if he meant himself

And shown your Presbyterian wits
 Jump punctual¹ with the Jesuits , 500
 A most compendious way and civil,
 At once to cheat the world, the devil,
 With heaven and hell yourselves and those
 On whom you vainly think t impose
 Why then, quoth he may hell surprise— 505
 That trick, said she, will not pass twice
 I've learn'd how far I m to believe
 Your pinning oaths upon your sleeve ,
 But there's a better way of clearing
 What you would prove than downright swearing 510
 For if you have perform'd the feat,
 The blows are visible as yet,
 Enough to serve for satisfaction
 Of nicest scruples in the action ,
 And if you can produce those knobs, 515
 Altho' they're but the witch's drubs,
 I'll pass them all upon account,
 As if your nat'ral self had done 't ,
 Provided that they pass th' opinion
 Of able juries of old women, 520
 Who us'd to judge all matter of facts
 For bellies,² may do so for backs
 Madam, quoth he, your love's a million,
 To do is less than to be willing,
 As I am, were it in my power, 525
 To obey what you command, and more ,
 But for performing what you bid
 I thank you as much as if I did
 You know I ought to have a care
 To keep my wounds from taking air , 530
 For wounds in those that are all heart,
 Are dangerous in any part
 I find, quoth she my goods and chattels
 Are like to prove but mere drawn battles

¹ "Jump punctual means to agree exactly "You will find (says Petyt, in his *Visions of the Reformation*) 'that though they have two faces that look different ways yet they have both the same lineaments the same principles and the same practices

² When a woman pretends to be pregnant in order to gain a respite from her sentence the fact must be ascertained by a jury of matrons

For still the longer we contend, 535
 We are but farther off the end
 But granting now we should agree,
 What is it you expect from me ?
 Your plighted faith, quoth he, and word
 You pass d in heaven, on record 540
 Where all contracts to have and t hold
 Are everlastingly enroll d
 And if 'tis counted treason here ¹
 To raze records, tis much more there
 Quoth she, There are no bargains driv'n, 545
 Nor marriages clapp d up in heav n ²
 And that s the reason as some guess
 There is no heav n in marriages
 Two things that naturally press ³
 Too narrowly to be at ease 550
 Their bus ness there is only love
 Which marriage is not like t improve ⁴
 Love that s too generous t abide
 To be against its nature tied
 For where tis of itself inclin d 555
 It breaks loose when it is confin d ⁵
 And like the soul, its harbourer,
 Debarr d the freedom of the air,
 Disdains against its will to stay,
 But struggles out, and flies away 560
 And therefore never can comply
 T endure the matrimonial tie

¹ It was made *felony* by Act 8 Ric II and 8 Hen VI cap 12

² Mark xii 25 For when they shall arise from the dead they neither marry nor are given in marriage

³ That is bargains and marriages

⁴ Plurimus in coelis amor est connubia nulla
 Conjugia in terris plurima nullus amor

J Owen Epigram, lib 2

⁵ Thus thought Eloise according to Pope

Love free as air, at sight of human ties
 Spreads his light wings and in a moment flies

So Chaucer, in his Frankeleynes Tale

Love wol not be constrained by maistrie
 Whan maistre cometh the god of love upon
 Beteth his winges and, farewell he is gon

That binds the female and the male,
 Where th one is but the other s bail
 Like Roman gaolers, when they slept, 565
 Chain d to the prisoners they kept ²
 Of which the true and faithfull st lover
 Gives best security to suffer
 Marriage is but a beast some say,³
 That carries double in foul way, 570
 And therefore tis not to b admir d
 It should so suddenly be tir d
 A bargain at a venture made
 Between two partners in a trade
 For what s inferr d by t have and t hold, 575
 But something pass d away and sold ?⁴
 That, as it makes but one of two,
 Reduces all things else as low,
 And at the best is but a mart
 Between the one and th other part, 580
 That on the marriage day is paid,
 Or hour of death the bet it laid ⁵
 And all the rest of bettr or worse,
 Both are but losers out of purse
 For when upon their ungot heirs 585
 Th entail themselves and all that s theirs,
 What blinder bargain e er was driven,
 Or wager laid at six and seven ?
 To pass themselves away, and turn
 Their children s tenants ere they re born ? 590
 Beg one another idiot
 To guardians, ere they are begot

¹ That is where if one of them is faulty the other is drawn into difficulties by it, and the truest lover is likely to be the greatest sufferer

² The custom among the Romans was to chain the right hand of the culprit to the left hand of the guard

³ Sir Thomas Brown says that he could be content that we might produce like trees without conjunction

⁴ An equivocation. The words to have and to hold in the marriage ceremony signify 'I take to possess and keep in deeds of conveyance their meaning is, 'I give to be possessed and kept by another. The Salisbury Missal (see edition 1554) reads, 'I take thee for my wedded wife to have and to hold *for this day*

⁵ Some editions read, *the bet is laid*

Or ever shall perhaps by th one
 Who s bound to vouch em for his own,
 Tho got b implicit generation ¹ 690
 And general club of all the nation
 For which she s fortified no less
 Than all the island with four seas ²
 Exacts the tribute of her dower
 In ready insolence and power 600
 And makes him pass away to have
 And hold to her himself, her slave
 More wretched than an ancient villain,³
 Condemn d to drudgery and tilling
 While all he does upon the by, 600
 She is not bound to justify
 Nor at her proper cost and charge
 Maintain the feats he does at large ⁴
 Such hideous sots were those obedient
 Old vassals to their ladies regent 610
 To give the cheats the eldest hand
 In foul play by the laws o th land,
 For which so many a legal cuckold⁵
 Has been run down in courts and truckled
 A law that most unjustly yokes 610
 All Johns of Stiles to Joans of Nokes ⁶

¹ This would seem to mean generation on faith but Dr John on sivs *implicit* signifies mixt complicated intricate perplexed Grey illustrates the reference by the story of a woman who alleged that she was *encente* by her husband though he had been three years absent from her upon the plea that she had received very comfortable letters from him

The interpretation of the law was that a child could not be deemed a bastard if the husband had remained in the island or within the four seas See Butler s Remains vol 1 p 122

³ The villains were a sort of serfs or slaves bound to the land, and passed with it to any purchaser as the lord was not answerable for anything done by his villain tenant no more is the wife for anything done by her villain husband though he is bound to justify and maintain all that his wife does

⁴ Meaning that the husband is bound under all circumstances to maintain the credit of his wife a condition as degrading as that of villinage by which the tenants were bound to render the most abject services to their lords while the wife on the other hand, is in no respect responsible for her husband

⁵ A legal cuckold is one who has proved his title by an action for damages

⁶ These are names given in law proceedings to indefinite persons, like

Without distinction of degree,
 Condition, age or quality,
 Admits no power of revocation,
 Nor valuable consideration, 62
 Nor writ of error nor reverse
 Of judgment past, for better or worse,
 Will not allow the privileges
 That beggars challenge under hedges,
 Who, when they're griev'd can make dead horses 625
 Their spiritual judges of divorces¹
 While nothing else but *rem in re*
 Can set the proudest wretches free,
 A slavery beyond enduring,
 But that 'tis of their own procuring 630
 As spiders never seek the fly,
 But leave him, of himself, to apply
 So men are by themselves betray'd,
 To quit the freedom they enjoy'd,
 And run their necks into a noose 635
 They'd break 'em after to break loose
 As some whom death would not depart,²
 Have done the feat themselves by art
 Like Indian widows gone to bed
 In flaming curtains to the dead,³ 640
 And men has often dangled for't,
 And yet will never leave the sport
 Nor do the ladies want excuse
 For all the stratagems they use
 To gain the advantage of the set⁴ 645
 And lurch the amorous rook and cheat
 For as the Pythagorean soul
 Runs thro' all beasts, and fish, and fowl,⁵

John Doe and Richard Roe or Caius and Titus, in the civil law See an amusing paper on the subject in Spectator 577 But Butler has humorously changed John o' Nokes into a female

¹ The gipsies, it is said are satisfied of the validity of such decisions

² Alluding to several revisions of the Common Prayer before the last, where it stood, "til death us depart" and then was altered to "til death us do part"

³ They used to burn themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands a custom which has but recently been abolished

⁴ Set that is, the game a term at tennis

⁵ The doctrine of metempsychosis Pythagoras, according to Heraclides,

And has a smack of ev'ry one
 So love does and has ever done,
 And therefore though tis ne'er so fond ¹ 650
 Takes strangely to the vagabond
 Tis but an ague that s revers't
 Whose hot fit takes the patient first
 That after burns with cold as much 655
 As iron in Greenland does the touch, ²
 Melts in the furnace of desire
 Like glass that s but the ice of fire
 And when his heat of fancy s over
 Becomes as hard and frail a lover ³ 660
 For when he s with love powder laden,
 And prim'd and cock'd by Miss or Madam
 The smallest sparkle of an eye
 Gives fire to his artillery,
 And off the loud oaths go but while 665
 They're in the very act, recoil
 Hence tis so few dare take their chance
 Without a separate maintenance
 And widows who have try'd one lover
 Trust none again till they've made over ⁴ 670
 Or if they do before they marry,
 The foxes weigh the geese they carry ⁵

used to say that he remembered not only what men but what plants and what animals his soul had passed through. And Empedocles declared of himself that he had been first a boy, then a girl then a plant then a bird then a fish.

¹ In the edition of 1678 "ere so fond"

² Metals if applied to the flesh in very cold climates, occasion extreme pain. This well known fact is occasioned by the rapid and excessive abstraction of caloric from the flesh just as a burn is by the rapid and excessive communication of it. Virgil, in his Georgics I 92 speaks of cold as burning. Some years ago we believe in 1814 a report ran through the news papers that a boy putting his tongue out of bravado to the iron of Menai bridge, when the cold was below zero, found it adhere so violently that it could not be withdrawn without surgical aid, and the loss of part of it.

³ That is, becomes as hard and frail as glass for after being melted in the furnace of desire he congeals like melted glass which when the heat is over, is not unlike ice.

⁴ Made over their property, in trust to a third person for their sole and separate use.

⁵ Sir Kenelm Digby in his Treatise on Bodies, chap. 36, § 38, relates this story of the fox.

And ere they venture o'er a stream,
 Know how to size themselves and them
 Whence wittiest ladies always choose 670
 To undertake the heaviest goose
 For now the world is grown so wary,
 That few of either sex dare marry,
 But rather trust on tick, t' amours,
 The cross and pile for better or worse, ¹ 680
 A mode that is held honourable
 As well as French, and fashionable
 For when it falls out for the best,
 Where both are incommode least,
 In soul and body two unite, 685
 To make up one hermaphrodite,
 Still amorous, and fond, and billing,
 Like Philip and Mary on a shilling ²
 They've more punctilios and caprices
 Between the petticoat and breeches, 690
 More petulant extravagances,
 Than poets make 'em in romances,
 Tho', when their heroes 'spouse the dames,
 We hear no more of charms and flames,
 For then their late attracts decline, 695
 And turn as eager as prick'd wine,
 And all their catterwauling tricks,
 In earnest to as jealous piques,
 Which th' ancients wisely signify'd
 By th' yellow mantos of the bride ³ 700
 For jealousy is but a kind
 Of clap and grimace of the mind, ⁴

¹ Signifying a mere toss up, heads or tails

² On the shillings of Philip and Mary coined 1555, the faces are placed opposite, and near to each other. Cleveland, in his poem on an Hermaphrodite, has a similar expression

“Thus did nature's mintage vary,
 Coming thee a Philip and Mary

³ The bride among the Romans, was brought home to her husband in a yellow veil. The widow intimates that the yellow colour of the veil was an emblem of jealousy

⁴ The later editions read *crincam*. either of them is a cant word, denoting an infectious disease, or whimsical affection of the mind, applied commonly

The natural effects of love
 As other flames and aches¹ prove
 But all the mischief is, the doubt 700
 On whose account they first broke out ;
 For tho' Chinese go to bed,
 And lie in in their ladies' stead²
 And, for the pains they took before,
 Are nurs'd and pamper'd to do more 710
 Our green men³ do it worse, when th' hap
 To fall in labour of a clap ,
 Both lay the child to one another
 But who's the father who the mother,

to love lewdness or jealousy Thus in the manors of East and West
 Enborne in Berkshire if the widow by incontinence forfeits her free bench
 she may recover it again by riding into the next manor court backward on
 a black ram with his tail in her hand and saying the following words

Here I am, riding upon a black ram
 Like a whore as I am
 And for my crincum crancum
 Have lost my bincum bancum
 Blount's Fragmenta Antiq. p. 144

Nares's Glossary affords the following illustration You must know
 Sir in a nobleman's abusive no in him the *serpigo* in a knight the
grincomes in a gentleman the Neapolitan scabb and in a serving man or
 artificer the *plaine pox* Jones's *Adrasta* 1630 But see Wright's
 Glossary sub voce *Crincombes Crancum Grincomes*

¹ Aches was a dissyllable in Butler's time and long afterwards See
 note³ at page 191

² In some countries, after the wife has recovered from her lying in it has
 been the custom for the husband to go to bed, and be treated with the same
 care and tenderness See Apollonius Rhodius II 1013 and Valerius Flac-
 cus v 148 The history of mankind hath scarcely furnished any thing more
 unaccountable than the prevalence of this custom We meet with it in
 ancient and modern times in the Old World and in the New among nations
 who could never have had the least intercourse with each other It is prac-
 tised in China, and in Purchas's Pilgrims it is said to be practised among
 the Brazilians At Haarlem a cambric cockade hung to the door shows
 that the woman of the house is brought to bed and that her husband claims
 a protection from arrests during the six weeks of his wife's confinement
 Polnitz Memoirs vol. II p. 396

³ Raw and inexperienced youths green is still used in the same sense
 Shakespeare in Hamlet Act IV sc. 5 says

And we have done but *greenly* to inter him

'Tis hard to say in multitudes, 716
 Or who imported the French goods ¹
 But health and sickness b'ing all one,
 Which both engag'd before to own ²
 And are not with their bodies bound
 To worship, only when they're sound, 720
 Both give and take their equal shares
 Of all they suffer by false wares,
 A fate no lover can divert
 With all his caution, wit, and art
 For 'tis in vain to think to guess 725
 At women by appearances,
 That paint and patch their imperfections
 Of intellectual complexions,
 And daub their tempers o'er with washes
 As artificial as their faces, 730
 Wear under vizard masks ³ their talents
 And mother wits before their gallants,

¹ Nicholas Monardes a physician of Seville who died 1577 tells us that this disease was supposed to have been brought into Europe at the siege of Naples from the West Indies by some of Columbus's sailors who accompanied him to Naples on his return from his first voyage in 1493. When peace was there made between the French and Spaniards the armies of both nations had free intercourse and conversing with the same women were infected by this disorder. The Spaniards thought they had received the contagion from the French and the French maintained that it had been communicated to them by the Spaniards. Guicciardini, at the end of his second book of the History of Italy dates the origin of this distemper in Europe at the year 1495. But Dr Gascoigne is quoted by Anthony Wood says he knew several persons who had died of it in his time that is before 1457, in which year his will was proved. Indeed after all the pains which have been taken by inquisitive writers to prove that this disease was brought from America or the West Indies the fact is not sufficiently established. Perhaps it was generated in Guinea or some other equinoctial part of Africa. Astruc who wrote the History of Diseases says it was brought from the West Indies between the years 1494 and 1496. In the earliest printed book on the subject *Leoniscenus de Epidemia quam Itali Morbem Gallicum Galli vero Neapolitanum vocant Venet Aldi* 1497 the disease is said to have been till then unknown in Ferrara.

² Alluding to the words of the marriage ceremony so in the following lines,

—with their bodies bound
 To worship

³ Masks were introduced at the Restoration and were then worn as a

Until they're hamper'd in the noose,
 Too fast to dream of breaking loose
 When all the flaws they strove to hide ,3>
 Are made unready with the bride
 That with her wedding clothes undresses
 Her complaisance and gentileesses
 Tries all her arts to take upon her
 The government from th' easy owner , 740
 Until the wretch is glad to wave
 His lawful right, and turn her slave ,
 Finds all his having and his holding
 Reduc'd t' eternal noise and scolding
 The conjugal petard that tears ~45
 Down all portcullices of ears ¹
 And makes the volley of one tongue
 For all their leathern shields too strong
 When only arm'd with noise and nails
 The female silkworms ride the males ² 750
 Transform 'em into rams and goats,
 Like syrens, with their charming notes, ³
 Sweet as a screech owl's serenade
 Or those enchanting murmurs made
 By th' husband mandrake and the wife, 755
 Both buried, like themselves alive ⁴
 Quoth he these reasons are but strains
 Of wanton over heated brains

distinctive sign by the gay ladies of the theatre Afterwards the use of them became more general

¹ The poet humorously compares the noise and clamour of a scolding wife, which breaks the drum of her husband's ears to the petard, or short cannon, used for beating down the gates of a castle

² This was one of the early beliefs respecting the silkworm See Edward Williams Virginia's richly valued Lond 1650 p 26

³ The Sirens according to the poets were three sea monsters half women and half fish their names were Parthenope Ligea and Leucosia Their usual residence was about the island of Sicily where, by the charming melody of their voices they used to detain those that heard them, and then transformed them into some sort of brute animals

⁴ Ancient botanists entertained various conceits about this plant in its forked roots they discovered the shapes of men and women and the sound which proceeded from its strong fibres when strained or torn from the ground, they took for the voice of a human being sometimes they imagined that they had distinctly heard their conversation The poet takes the liberty of enlarging upon those hints, and represents the mandrake

Which rallies in their wit or drink
 Do rather wheedle with, than think 760
 Man was not man in paradise,
 Until he was created twice,
 And had his better half his bride,
 Carv'd from th' original his side,¹
 To amend his natural defects, 765
 And perfect his recruited sex,
 Enlarge his breed, at once, and lessen
 The pains and labour of increasing
 By changing them for other cares,
 As by his dried up paps appears 770
 His body, that stupendous frame,
 Of all the world the anagram²
 Is of two equal parts compact,
 In shape and symmetry exact,
 Of which the left and female side 775
 Is to the manly right a bride³

husband and wife quarrelling under ground a situation, he says not more uncomfortable than that of a married pair continually at variance, since these if not in fact buried alive, are so virtually

¹ Thus Cleveland

Adam till his rib was lost,
 Had the sexes thus engrost
 When Providence our sire did cleave,
 And out of Adam carved Eve
 Then did man bout wedlock treat,
 To make his body up complete

² Anagram means a transposition of the letters of a word by which a new meaning is extracted from it as in Dr Burney's well known anagram of Horatio Nelson—Honor est a Nilo Man is often called the microcosm, or world in miniature, and it is in this sense that Butler describes him

³ In the Symposium of Plato Aristophanes one of the dialogists relates, that the human species, at its original formation consisted not only of males and females but of a third kind combining both sexes in one This last species it is said, having rebelled against Jupiter, was by way of punishment completely divided whence the strong propensity which inclines the separate parts to a reunion and the assumed origin of love And since it is hardly possible that the dis severed moieties should stumble upon each other after they have wandered about the earth we may upon the same hypothesis account for the number of unhappy and disproportionate matches which men daily encounter by saying that they mistake their proper halves Moore makes a happy use of this notion in speaking of ballad music before it is wedded to poetry A pretty air without words resembles one of those half creatures of Plato, which are described as wandering in search of the remainder of themselves through the world —*National Aurs*

Both join'd together with such art,
 That nothing else but death can part
 Those heav'nly attracts of yours, your eyes
 And face, that all the world surprise, 780
 That dazzle all that look upon ye
 And scorch all other ladies tawny
 Those ravishing and charming graces,
 Are all made up of two half faces
 That, in a mathematic line 785
 Like those in other heavens join¹
 Of which if either grew alone
 'Twould fright as much to look upon
 And so would that sweet bud, your lip,
 Without the other's fellowship 790
 Our noblest senses act by pairs
 Two eyes to see, to hear two ears,
 Th' intelligencers of the mind
 To wait upon the soul design'd
 But those that serve the body alone, 795
 Are single and confin'd to one
 The world is but two parts, that meet
 And close at th' equinoctial fit,
 And so are all the works of nature,
 Stamp'd with her signature on matter, 800
 Which all her creatures, to a leaf,
 Or smallest blade of grass receive²
 All which sufficiently declare
 How entirely marriage is her care,
 The only method that she uses 805
 In all the wonders she produces
 And those that take their rules from her
 Can never be deceiv'd nor err
 For what secures the civil life
 But pawns of children, and a wife?³ 810
 That he, like hostages, at stake,
 To pay for all men undertake,

¹ That is, that join insensibly in an imperceptible line like the imaginary lines of mathematicians *Other heavens* that is, the real heavens

² Alluding to the sexual laws of nature, as typified in plants down to the smallest forms

³ See Lord Bacon's Essay No viii

To whom it is as necessary
 As to be born and breathe, to marry ,
 So universal, all mankind 810
 In nothing else is of one mind
 For in what stupid age, or nation,
 Was marriage ever out of fashion ?
 Unless among the Amazons ¹
 Or cloister'd friars and vestal nuns, 820
 Or Stoics who, to bar the freaks
 And loose excesses of the sex
 Preposterously would have all women
 Turn'd up to all the world in common ²
 Tho' men would find such mortal feuds 825
 In sharing of their public goods,
 'Twould put them to more charge of lives
 Than they're supply'd with now by wives
 Until they graze and wear their clothes,
 As beasts do of their native growths ³ 830
 For simple wearing of their horns
 Will not suffice to serve their turns
 For what can we pretend to inherit
 Unless the marriage deed will bear it ?
 Could claim no right to lands or rents, 835
 But for our parents' settlements
 Had been but younger sons of the earth
 Debar'd it all but for our birth ⁴
 What honours or estates of peers,
 Could be preserv'd but by their heirs ? 840
 And what security maintains
 Their right and title, but the banns ?

¹ The Amazons according to the old mythological stories avoided marriage and permitted no men to live amongst them, nevertheless held periodical intercourse with them. The vestals were under a vow of perpetual chastity.

² Diogenes asserted that marriage was nothing but an empty name. And Zeno the father of the Stoics maintained that all women ought to be common that no words were obscene and no parts of the body need be covered.

³ I.e. such intercommunity of women would be productive of the worst consequences unless mankind were reduced to the most barbarous state of nature and men became altogether brutes.

⁴ If there had been no matrimony we should have had no provision made for us by our forefathers but like younger children of our primitive parent the earth, should have been excluded from every possession.

What crowns could be hereditary,
 If greatest monarchs did not marry
 And with their consorts consummate
 Their weightiest interests of state ? 845
 For all th' amours of princes are
 But guarantees of peace or war
 Or what but marriage has a charm
 The rage of empires to disarm ? 850
 Make blood and desolation cease,
 And fire and sword unite in peace
 When all their fierce contests for forage
 Conclude in articles of marriage ?
 Nor does the genial bed provide 855
 Less for the int'rests of the bride,
 Who else had not the least pretence
 T' as much as due benevolence
 Could no more title take upon her
 To virtue quality and honour 860
 Than ladies errant unconfin'd
 And femme coverts to all mankind
 All women would be of one piece,
 The virtuous matron, and the miss,
 The nymphs of chaste Diana's train 865
 The same with those in Lewkner's lane,¹
 But for the difference marriage makes
 'Twixt wives and Ladies of the Lakes ²
 Besides, the joys of place and birth
 The sex's paradise on earth,³ 870
 A privilege so sacred held
 That none will to their mothers yield,

¹ Charles street Drury lane, inhabited chiefly by strumpets

² Meaning ladies of pleasure The Lady of the Lake was represented in some of the old romances as a mistress of king Arthur

³ Thus Mr Pope

For sylphs, yet mindful of their ancient race
 Are as when women, wondrous fond of place

Our poet, though indicating the ladies and the happy state of matrimony cannot help introducing this stroke of satire Bastards have no place or rank.

But rather than not go before,
 Abandon heaven at the door ¹
 And if th indulgent law allows 870
 A greater freedom to the spouse,
 The reason is, because the wife
 Runs greater hazards of her life,
 Is trusted with the form and matter
 Of all mankind by careful nature, 880
 Where man brings nothing but the stuff
 She frames the wond'rous fabric of,
 Who therefore, in a strait may freely
 Demand the clergy of her belly,²
 And make it save her the same way, 885
 It seldom misses to betray,
 Unless both parties wisely enter
 Into the liturgy indenture ³
 And tho' some fits of small contest
 Sometimes fall out among the best, 890
 That is no more than ev'ry lover
 Does from his hackney lady suffer,
 That makes no breach of faith and love,
 But rather sometimes serves to improve,
 For as, in running ev'ry pace 895
 Is but between two legs a race,
 In which both do their uttermost
 To get before, and win the post
 Yet when they're at their race's ends,
 They're still as kind and constant friends, 900
 And to relieve their weariness,
 By turns give one another ease,

¹ That is will not even go to church if they have not their right of precedence Chaucer says of the wife of Bath, 451

In all the parish wif ne was there non
 That to the offering before hire shulde gon
 And if ther did certain so wroth was she,
 That she was out of alle charitee

² Meaning benefit of clergy, on account of pregnancy See note on line 522, at page 286

³ This alludes to the form enjoined in the Directory when it was contrary to law to be married by the service in the Book of Common Prayer

So all those false alarms of strife
 Between the husband and the wife,
 And little quarrels often prove 905
 To be but new recruits of love ¹
 When those who re always kind or coy ²
 In time must either tire or cloy
 Nor are their loudest clamours more
 Than as they re relish'd sweet or sour 910
 Like music, that proves bad or good,
 According as tis understood
 In all amours a lover burns
 With frowns, as well as smiles by turns,
 And hearts have been as oft with sullen, 915
 As charming looks surpris'd and stolen
 Then why should more bewitching clamour
 Some lovers not as much enamour'd?
 For discords make the sweetest airs,
 And curses are a kind of prayers, 920
 Too slight alloys for all those grand
 Felicities by marriage gain'd
 For nothing else has power to settle
 The interests of love perpetual
 An act and deed that makes one heart 925
 Become another's counter part,
 And passes fines on faith and love ³
 Inroll'd and register'd above
 To seal the slippery knots of vows
 Which nothing else but death can loose 930
 And what security's too strong
 To guard that gentle heart from wrong,
 That to its friend is glad to pass
 Itself away, and all it has

¹ So Terence The quarrels of lovers are the renewal of love Andria III 3

² *Coy* or *Coye*, is used here in the sense of toying or fondling So Shakspeare,

"Come sit thee down upon this flowery bed,
 While I thy amiable cheek do *coy*

Mids N D Act iv sc 1

But see Wright's Glossary *sub voce*

³ That is, makes them irrevocable and secures the title as passing a fine in law does a conveyance or settlement

And, like an anchorite gives over 930
 This world, for th' heav'n of a lover;¹
 I grant, quoth she, there are some few
 Who take that course and find it true
 But millions, whom the same does sentence
 To heav'n b' another way repentance 940
 Love's arrows are but shot at rovers,²
 Tho' all they hit they turn to lovers,
 And all the weighty consequents
 Depend upon more blind events
 Than gamesters when they play a set, 945
 With greatest cunning at piquet,
 Put out with caution, but take in
 They know not wh'at, unsight, unseen
 For what do lovers, when they're fast
 In one another's arms embrac'd, 950
 But strive to plunder and convey
 Each other like a prize, away?
 To change the property of selves
 As sucking children are by elves?³
 And if they use their persons so, 955
 What will they to their fortunes do?
 Their fortunes! the perpetual aims
 Of all their extasies and flames
 For when the money's on the book,
 And all my worldly goods—but spoke,⁴ 960
 The formal livery and seisin
 That puts a lover in possession,
 To that alone the bridegroom's wedded,
 The bride a flim that's superseded,
 To that their faith is still made good, 965
 And all the oaths to us they vow'd

¹ In this speech the Knight makes amends for previous uncourteousness, and defends the ladies and the married state with great gallantry wit and good sense

² That is shot at random not at a target

³ The fairies were believed to be capable of exchanging infants in the cradle for some of their own Elfin brood or for the children of other parents See Keightley's Fairy Mythology

⁴ Alluding to the form of marriage in the Common Prayer Book where the fee is directed to be put upon the book with the wedding ring, and the bridegroom endows the bride with all his worldly goods

For when we once resign our pow'rs,
 We've nothing left we can call ours
 Our money's now become the miss
 Of all your lives and services 970
 And we forsaken and postpon'd,
 But bawds to what before we own'd,
 Which as it made y^e at first gallant us,
 So now hires others to supplant us,
 Until 'tis all turn'd out of doors 975
 As we had been for new amours
 For what did ever heiress yet
 By being born to lordships get?
 When the more lady she's of manors
 She's but expos'd to more trepanners 980
 Pays for their projects and designs
 And for her own destruction fines¹
 And does but tempt them with her riches
 To use her as the dev'l does witches,
 Who takes it for a special grace, 985
 To be then cully for a space
 That when the time's expir'd the drazels²
 For ever may become his vassals
 So she bewitch'd by rooks and spirits
 Betrays herself and all sh^e inherits 990
 Is bought and sold like stolen goods
 By pimps and match makers and bawds
 Until they force her to convey
 And steal the thief himself away
 These are the everlasting fruits 995
 Of all your passionate love suits
 Th^e effects of all your am'rous fancies,
 To portions and inheritances
 Your love sick raptures for fruition
 Of dowry, jointure and tuition 1000
 To which you make address and courtship,
 And with your bodies strive to worship

¹ Fines signifies *pays* implying that her wealth, by exposing her to the snares of fortune hunters, may be the cause of her destruction

² The sluts or draggile tails See Wright's Provincial Dictionary

That th infant s fortunes may partake
 Of love too ¹ for the mother s sake
 For these you play at purposes, 1005
 And love your loves with A s and B's ²
 For these at Beast and l Ombre woo ³
 And play for love and money too ⁴
 Strive who shall be the ablest man
 At right gallanting of a fan, 1010
 And who the most genteelly bred
 At sucking of a vizard bead, ⁵
 How best t accost us in all quarters
 T our Question and Command new garters ⁶
 And solidly discourse upon 1015
 All sorts of dresses *pro* and *con*
 For there s no mystery nor trade,
 But in the art of love is made ⁷

¹ That is the widow s children by a former husband who are under age to whom the lover would willingly be guardian to have the management of the jointure

² This is still imposed at forfeits But see Pepys s Diary

³ Fashionable games much in vogue in the time of Charles II Ombre was introduced at the Pe toration Beast, or Angel beast was similar to Loo "I love my love with an A was one of the favourite amusements at Whitehall Pepys tells us that he once found the Duke and Duchess of York with all the great ladies at Whitehall sitting upon a carpet upon the ground there being no chairs playing at 'I love my love with an A because he is so and so and I hate him with an A because of this and that and some of them particularly the Duchess herself and my Lady Castlemaine were very witty

⁴ The widow in these and the following lines gives no bad sketch of a person who endeavours to retrieve his circumstances by marriage and practises every method in his power to recommend himself to his rich mistress he plays with her at Questions and Commands endeavours to divert her with cards puts himself in masquerade flirts her fan talks of flames and darts, aches and sufferings which last, the poet intimates, might more justly be attributed to other causes

⁵ Masks were kept close to the face, by a bead fixed to the inside of them and held in the mouth when the lady s hands were otherwise employed

⁶ At the vulgar play of Questions and Commands a forfeit was often to take off a lady s garter expecting this therefore the lady provided herself with new ones

⁷ That is, made use of, or practised

And when you have more debts to pay
 Than Michaelmas and Lady day 1020
 And no way possible to do t
 But love and oaths, and restless suit,
 To us y apply to pay the scores
 Of all your cully d past amours
 Act o er your flames and darts again 1025
 And charge us with your wounds and pain,
 Which others influences long since
 Have charm d your noses with and shins
 For which the surgeon is unpaid,
 And like to be without our aid 1030
 Lord! what an am rous thing is want!
 How debts and mortgages enchant!
 What graces must that lady have
 That can from executions save!
 What charms that can reverse extent 1035
 And null degree and exigent!
 What magical attracts, and graces
 That can redeem from *scire facias*!²
 From bonds and statutes can discharge
 And from contempts of courts enlarge! 1040
 These are the highest excellencies
 Of all your true or false protences
 And you would damn yourselves and swear
 As much t an hostess dowager
 Grown fat and pursy by retail 1045
 Of pots of beer and bottled ale,
 And find her fitter for your turn
 For fat is wondrous apt to burn
 Who at your flames would soon take fire,
 Relent, and melt to your desire, 1050

¹ These are the two principal rent days in the year unsatisfactory to the landlord, when his outgoings exceed his incomings

² Here the poet shows his knowledge of the law and law terms, which he always uses with great propriety *Execution* is obtaining possession of anything recovered by judgment of law *Extent* is a writ of execution at the suit of the crown, which extends over all the defendant's lands and other property in order to satisfy a bond engagement or forfeit *Exigent* is a writ requiring a person to appear and lies where the defendant in an action can not personally be found or on anything of his in the country, whereby he may be distrained *Scire facias* is a writ to enforce the execution of judgment

And, like a candle in the socket,
 Dissolves her graces int your pocket
 By this time twas grown dark and late,
 When th heard a knocking at the gate
 Laid on in haste with such a powder,¹ 1055
 The blows grew louder and still louder
 Which Hudibras as if they d been
 Bestow d as freely on his skin,
 Expounding hy his Inward Light,
 Or rather more prophetic fright 1060
 To be the wizard come to search
 And take him napping in the lurch,
 Turn d pale as ashes or a clout,
 But why, or wherefore, is a doubt
 For men will tremble, and turn paler, 1065
 With too much, or too little valour
 His heart laid on as if it tried
 To force a passage through his side
 Impatient as he vow d to wait em
 But in a fury to fly at em 1070
 And therefore beat and laid about,
 To find a cranny to creep out
 But she who saw in what a taking
 The Knight was by his furious quaking,
 Undaunted cry d Courage Sir Knight, 1075
 Know I m resolv d to break no rite
 Of hospitality t a stranger
 But to secure you out of danger,
 Will here myself stand sentinel,
 To guard this pass gamst Sidrophel 1080
 Women, you know, do seldom fail
 To make the stoutest men turn tail,
 And bravely scorn to turn their backs,
 Upon the desperate attacks
 At this the Knight grew resolute, 1085
 As Ironside, or Hardiknute ²

¹ Haste, bustle Wright's Provincial Dictionary

² Two princes celebrated for their valour in the 11th century The former the predecessor, the latter the son and successor of Canute the Great

His fortitude began to rally,
And out he cry'd aloud, to sally,
But she besought him to convey
His courage rather out o' th' way 1090
And lodge in ambush out of the floor,
Or fortified behind a door,
That if the enemy should enter,
He might relieve her in th' adventure
Meanwhile they knock'd against the door 1095
As fierce as at the gate before,
Which made the renegado Knight
Relapse again t' his former fright
He thought it desperate to stay
Till the enemy had forc'd his way 1100
But rather post himself to serve
The lady for a fresh reserve
His duty was not to dispute,
But what she d' order'd execute,
Which he resolv'd in haste t' obey 1105
And therefore stoutly march'd away
And all h' encounter'd fell upon,
Tho' in the dark, and all alone
Till fear, that braver feats performs
Than ever courage dar'd in arms, 1110
Had drawn him up before a pass,
To stand upon his guard and face
Thus he courageously invaded
And having enter'd barricado'd,
Ensconced himself as formidable 1115
As could be underneath a table,
Where he lay down in ambush close,
T' expect th' arrival of his foes
Few minutes he had lain perdue,
To guard his desperate avenue, 1120
Before he heard a dreadful shout,
As loud as putting to the rout
With which impatiently alarm'd
He fancied th' enemy had storm'd,
And after entering Sidrophel 1125
Was fall'n upon the guards pell mell,

He therefore sent out all his senses
 To bring him in intelligences,
 Which vulgars out of ignorance
 Mistake for falling in a trance, 1130
 But those that trade in geomancy,¹
 Affirm to be the strength of falcy,
 In which the Lapland magi deal²
 And things incredible reveal
 Meanwhile the foe beat up his quarters, 1135
 And storm'd the outworks of his fortress,
 And as another of the same
 Degree and party, in arms and fame,
 That in the same cause had engag'd
 And war with equal conduct wag'd, 1140
 By vent ring only but to thrust
 His head a span beyond his post,
 B a gen'ral of the cavaliers
 Was dragg'd thro' a window by the ears³
 So he was serv'd in his redoubt 1145
 And by the other end pull'd out
 Soon as they had him at their mercy
 They put him to the cudgel fiercely,
 As if they scorn'd to trade and barter,
 By giving or by taking quarter 1150
 They stoutly on his quarters laid
 Until his scouts came in to his aid
 For when a man is past his sense,
 There's no way to reduce him thence
 But twingeing him by the ears or nose 1155
 Or laying on of heavy blows

¹ A sort of divination by circles and pricks in the earth used here for any sort of conjuring. The knight's trance was a swoon through fear.

Lapland on account of its remaining pagan so long was celebrated through the rest of Europe as the country of magicians and witches. They are reputed to have obtained the revelations necessary to making their predictions during trances.

³ This circumstance happened to Sir Richard Philips of Picton Castle in Pembrokeshire. The Cavaliers commanded by Colonel Egerton attacked this place and demanded a parley. Sir Richard consented and being a little man stepped upon a bench and showed himself at one of the windows. The colonel, who was high in stature, sat on horseback underneath and pretending to be deaf desired the other to come as near

And if that will not do the deed,
 To burning with hot irons proceed ¹
 No sooner was he come t himself,
 But on his neck a sturdy elf 1160
 Clapp d in a trice his cloven hoof
 And thus attack d him with reproof
 Mortal thou art betray d to us
 B our friend, thy evil genius
 Who for thy horrid perjuries 1165
 Thy breach of faith and turning lies,
 The brethien s privilege against
 The wicked on themselves the saints
 Has here thy wretched carcass sent
 For just revenge and punishment 1170
 Which thou hast now no way to lessen
 But by an open free confession ²
 For if we catch thee failing once
 Twill fall the heavier on thy bones
 What made thee venture to betray 1175
 And filch the ludy s heart away
 To spirit her to matrimony ?—
 That which contracts all matches money
 It was th enchantment of her riches
 That made m apply t your ciony witches ³ 1180
 That in return would pay th expense
 The wear and tear of conscience ⁴
 Which I could have patch d up and turn d,
 For th hundredth part of what I earn d
 Didst thou not love her then ? Speak true 1185
 No more, quoth he than I love you —
 How would st thou ve us d hei and her money ?
 First turn d her up to alimony ⁵

him as he could. Sir Richard then leaned a good deal from the window when the colonel seized him by the ears and drew him out. Soon after the castle surrendered.

¹ Alluding to the use o cautery in apoplexy

² This scene is imitated but with much less wit and learning, in a poem called *Dunstable Downs* falsely attributed to Butler

³ Your old friends and companions

⁴ The Knight confesses that he would have sacrificed his conscience to money in reality he had rid himself of it long before

⁵ To provide for herself as houses do when they are turned to grass
The poet might possibly intend a *jeu de mot*. *Alimony* is a separate main

And laid her dowry out in law,
 To null her jointure with a flaw, 1190
 Which I beforehand had agreed
 T have put on purpose in the deed,
 And bar her widow s making over
 T a friend in trust or private lover
 What made thee pick and chuse her out 1195
 T employ their sorceries about ?—
 That which makes gamesters play with those
 Who have least wit, and most to lose
 But didst thou scourge thy vessel thus,
 As thou hast damn d thyself to us ?— 1200
 I see you take me for an ass
 'Tis true, I thought the trick would pass
 Upon a woman well enough
 As 't has been often found by proof,
 Whose humours are not to be won 1205
 But when they are impos d upon,
 For love approves of all they do
 That stand for candidates and woo
 Why didst thou forge those shameful lies
 Of bears and witches in disguise ?— 1210
 That is no more than authors give
 The rabble credit to believe
 A trick of following their leaders
 To entertain their gentle readers,
 And we have now no other way 1215
 Of passing all we do or say,
 Which, when tis natural and true,
 Will be believ d b a very few,
 Beside the danger of offence,
 The fatal enemy of sense 1220
 Why dost thou chuse that cursed sin,
 Hypocrisy, to set up in ?—
 Because it is the thriving st calling
 The only saints bell that rings all in, ¹

tenance paid by the husband to the wife where she is not convicted of adultery The Earl of Strafford relates a case rather worse than Hudibras intended —Queen Elizabeth reprimanded Stakeley for ill using his wife, to which he replied that he had already turned her into her petticoat, and if any one could make more of her they might take her for him

¹ The small bell which rings immediately before the minister begins the

In which all churches are concern d, 1225
 And is the easiest to be learn d
 For no degrees unless th employ it
 Can ever gain much or enjoy it
 A gift that is not only able
 To domineer among the rabble, 1230
 But by the laws empower d to rout
 And awe the greatest that stand out
 Which few hold forth against for fear
 Their hands should slip and come too near
 For no sin else among the saints 1235
 Is taught so tenderly against
 What made thee break thy plighted vows ?—
 That which makes others break a house
 And hang and scorn ye all before
 Endure the plague of being poor 1240
 Quoth he I see you have more tricks
 Than all our doating polities,
 That are grown old and out of fashion,
 Compar d with your new Reformation
 That we must come to school to you, 1245
 To learn your more refin d and new
 Quoth he If you will give me leave
 To tell you what I now perceive,
 You ll find yourself an arrant chouse,
 If y were but at a Meeting house 1250
 'Tis true quoth he we ne er come there
 Because w have let em out by th year ¹
 Truly, quoth he you can t imagine
 What wondrous things they will engage in
 That as your fellow fiends in hell 1255
 Were angels all before they fell,
 So are you like to be agen,
 Compar d with th angels of us men ²

church service, is called the saints bell and when the clerk has rung it he says he has rung all in

¹ The devils are here looked upon as landlords of the meeting houses since the tenants of them were known to be so diabolical and to hold them by no good title but as it was uncertain how long these lawless times would last, the poet makes the devils let them only by the year now when anything is actually let landlords never come there that is have excluded themselves from all right to the use of the premises

² I remember an old attorney who told me a little before his death, that

Quoth he I am resolv'd to be
 Thy scholar in this mystery, 1260
 And therefore first desire to know
 Some principles on which you go
 What makes a knave a child of God,¹
 And one of us ?²—A livelihood
 What renders beating out of brains 1265
 And murder godliness ?—Great gains
 What's tender conscience ?—Tis a botch
 That will not bear the gentlest touch,
 But, breaking out, dispatches more
 Than th' epidemical plague sore³ 1270
 What makes y' encroach upon our trade,
 And damn all others ?—To be paid
 What's orthodox and true believing
 Against a conscience ?—A good living⁴
 What makes rebelling against kings 1275
 A Good Old Cause ?—Administ' rings⁵
 What makes all doctrines plain and clear ?—
 About two hundred pounds a year
 And that which was prov'd true before,
 Prove false again ?—Two hundred more 1280

he had been reckoned a very great rascal and believed he was so for he had
 done many roguish and misnomer things in his profession but adds he
 by what I can observe of the rising generation the time may come and
 you may live to see it when I shall be accounted a very honest man, in
 comparison with those attorneys who are to succeed me *Nash*

¹ A banter on the pamphlets in those days under the name and form of
 Catechisms Heylin's Rebel's Catechism Watson's Cavalier's Catechism
 Ram's Soldier's Catechism Parker's Political Catechism &c &c

² Both Presbyterians and Independents were fond of saying *one of us*
 that is, one of the holy brethren the elect number the godly party

³ Alluding to the Great Plague of London in 1665 which destroyed
 68 586 people Defoe gives a very graphic and painfully interesting account
 of it

⁴ A committee was appointed November 11, 1646 to inquire into the
 value of all church livings in order to plant an able ministry as was pre-
 tended but in truth to discover the best and fattest benefices that the
 champions of the cause might choose for themselves Whereof some had
 three or four a piece a lack being pretended of competent pastors When
 a living was small the church doors were shut up I could name an as-
 ssembly man says Sir William Dugdale in his Short View, "who being
 told by an eminent person that a certain church had no incumbent, inquired
 the value of it and receiving for answer that it was about £50 a year, he
 said if it be no better worth no godly man will accept it

⁵ —Administerings See P III. II. v 55

What makes the breaking of all oaths
 A holy duty ?—Food and clothes
 What laws and freedom persecution ?—
 B ing out of power and contribution
 What makes a church a den of thieves ?— 1 80
 A dean and chapter, and white sleeves ¹
 And what would serve if those were gone,
 To make it orthodox ?—Our own
 What makes morality a crime
 The most notorious of the time 1290
 Morality which both the saints
 And wicked too cry out against ?—
 'Cause grace and virtue are within
 Prohibited degrees of l in
 And therefore no true saint allows 1290
 They should be suffer d to espouse
 For saints can need no conscience
 That with morality dispense
 As virtue s impious when tis rooted
 In nature only nd not imputed 1300
 But why the wicked should do so,
 We neither know, nor care to do
 What s liberty of conscience
 I th natural and genuine sense '
 Tis to restore with more security 1300
 Rebellion to its ancient purity
 And Christian liberty reduce
 To th elder practice of the Jews
 For a large conscience is all one
 And signifies the same, with none ³ 1310
 It is enough quoth he for once
 And has repriev d thy forfeit bones

¹ That is a bishop who wears lawn sleeves

Moral goodness was deemed a mean attainment, and much beneath the character of saints who held grace and inspiration to be all meritorious and virtue to have no merit nay some even thought virtue impious when it is rooted only in nature and not imputed some of the modern sects are supposed to hold tenets not very unlike this *Nasā*

³ It is reported of Judge Jefferys that taking a dislike to a witness who had a long beard he told him that ' if his conscience was as long as his beard, he had a swinging one to which the countryman replied ' My Lord if you measure consciences by beards, you have none at all

Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick
 Tho' he gave his name to our Old Nick,¹
 But was below the least of these 1315
 That pass i th' world for holiness
 This said, the furies and the light
 In th instant vanish d out of sight,
 And left him in the dark alone,
 With stinks of brimstone and his own 1320
 The Queen of night whose large command
 Rules all the sea, and half the land,²
 And over moist and crazy brains
 In high spring tides, at midnight reigns ³ 1325
 Was now declining to the west,
 To go to bed and take her rest
 When Hudibras, whose stubborn blows
 Deny d his bones that soft repose
 Lay still expecting worse and more,
 Stretch d out at length upon the floor 1330
 And tho he shut his eyes as fast
 As if he d been to sleep his last
 Saw all the shapes that fear or wizards,
 Do make the devil wear for vizards,
 And pricking up his ears to hark 1335
 If he could hear too in the dark
 Was first invaded with a groan,
 And after, in a feeble tone
 These trembl'ng words Unhappy wretch,
 What hast thou gotten by this fetch 1340

¹ Nicholas Machiavelli was the great Florentine Historian and Statesman of the 16th cent. His political principles were loudly condemned by the Puritans because they considered them identified with those of Charles I. Nick is a name of the devil taken from the old Scandinavian and Teutonic name of a kind of water spirit. See Keightley's Fairy Mythology. When Machiavel is represented as such a proficient in wickedness that his name hath become an appellation for the devil himself, 'we are not less entertained by the smartness of the sentiment than we should be if it were supported by the truth of history. By the same kind of poetical license Empedocles in the second canto is humorously said to have been acquainted with the writings of Alexander Ross, who did not live till about 2000 years after him.

² The moon is here said to influence the tides and motions of the sea and half mankind who are assumed to be more or less lunatic.

³ Insane persons are supposed to be worst at the change and full of the moon, when the tides are highest.

Or all thy tricks in this new trade,
 Thy holy brotherhood o th blide ?¹
 By saunt ring still on some adventure
 And growing to thy horse a centaur ?²
 To stuff thy skin with swelling knobs 1345
 Of cruel and hard wooded drubs ?
 For still thou st had the worst on t yet,
 As well in conquest as defeat
 Night is the sabbath of mankind,
 To rest the body and the mind 1350
 Which now thou art deny d to keep
 And cure thy labour d corpse with sleep
 The Knight who heard the words, explain d
 As meant to him this reprimand
 Because the character did hit 1355
 Point blank upon his case so fit,
 Believ d it was some drolling spright
 That staid upon the guard that night,
 And one of those he d seen and felt
 The drubs he had so freely dealt 1360
 When after a short pause and groan,
 The doleful spirit thus went on
 This tis t engage with dogs and bears
 Pell mell together by the ears
 And after painful bangs and knocks, 1365
 To lie in limbo in the stocks,
 And from the pinnacle of glory
 Fall headlong into purgatory,

¹ Meaning this religious knight-errantry this search after trifling offence with intent to punish them as crying sins Ralpho who now supposed himself alone vents his sorrows in this soliloquy which is so artfully worded, as equally to suit his own case and the Knight's and to censure the conduct of both Hence the latter applies the whole as meant to be directed to himself and comments upon it accordingly to v 1400 after which the squire improves on his master's mistake and counterfeits the ghost in earnest This seems to have been Butler's meaning though not readily to be collected from his words *Holy brotherhood* alludes to the society instituted in Spain called La Santa Hermandad employed in detecting and apprehending thieves and robbers and executing other parts of the police

² The Centaurs were a people of Thessaly and supposed to be the first managers of horses Strangers, who had never seen any such thing before reported them to be half man and half beast

(Thought he this devil s full of malice,
 That on my late disasters rallies) 1370
 Condemn d to whipping but declin d it,
 By being more heroic minded ,
 And at a riding handled worse
 With treats more slovenly and coarse ¹
 Engag d with hends in stubborn wais, 1375
 And hot disputes with conjurers ,
 And, when thou dst bravely won the day
 Wast fain to steal thyself away—
 (I see thought he, this shameless elf
 Would fain steal me too from myself ² 1380
 That impudently dares to own
 What I have suffer d for and done)
 And now, but vent ring to betray
 Hast met with vengeance the same way
 Thought he how does the devil know 1385
 What twas that I design d to do ?
 His office of intelligence
 His oracles are ceas d long since ³
 And he knows nothing of the saints
 But what some treach rous spy acquaints 1390
 This is some pettifogging fiend
 Some under door keeper s friend s friend,
 That undertakes to understand
 And juggles at the second hand,
 And now would pass for Spirit Po ⁴ 1395
 And all men s dark concerns foreknow
 I think I need not fear him for t,
 These rallying devils do no hurt ⁵

¹ Alluding to the result of the Knight s attempt to put down the Skim mington

² A phrase used by Horace *Carm lib iv Od 13 v 20* also by Ben Jonson in his *Tale of a Tub Act iii sc 5*

³ The heathen oracles were said to have ceased at the Nativity See Milton s Ode

⁴ Tom Po was a common name for a spectre The word seems to be akin to *bug* in bugbear to the Dutch *baux* a spectre and to the Welsh *bo* a hobgoblin One son of Odin was named Po or Bo

⁵ Grey illustrates this by the story of two male servants one of whom alarmed the other, who was very apprehensive of the devil, by getting under the bed at night time and playing pranks but happening to make a natural explosion the frightened man recovered himself, and cried out, "Oh! oh!"

With that he rous'd his drooping heart,
 And hastily cry'd out 'What art thou?—' 1400
 A wretch quoth he 'whom want of grace
 Has brought to this unhappy place
 I do believe thee quoth the Knight,
 Thus far I'm sure thou'rt in the right
 And know what 'tis that troubles thee 1405
 Better than thou hast guess'd of me
 Thou art some paltry blackguard spright
 Condemn'd to drudgery in the night
 Thou hast no work to do in th' house
 Nor halfpenny to drop in shoes¹ 1410
 Without the raising of which sum
 You dare not be so troublesome
 To pinch the slatterns black and blue
 For leaving you their work to do
 This is your business good Pug Robin² 1415
 And your diversion dull dry bobbing

if thou art a f—g devil have at thee, I am not afraid and therewith
 got up and thrashed him

¹ One of the current superstitions of the olden time about fairies was
 that if servant maids before going to bed swept up their hearths clean
 brightened the furniture and left a pail full of clean water for bathing in
 they would find money in their shoes if they left the house dirty they
 would be pinched in their sleep Thus the old ballad of Robin Goodfellow,
 'who perhaps was the sprite meant by Pug Robin

When house or hearth doth sluttish lie
 I pinch the maids both black and blue
 And from the bed the bed cloths I
 Pull off and lay them naked to view

Again, speaking of fairies

Such sort of creatures as would bast ye
 A kitchen wench for being nasty
 But if she neatly scour her pewter
 Give her the money that is due t' her
 Every night before we go
 We drop a tester in her shoe

See Shakspeare *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Merry Wives of Windsor*
 Percy's *Reliques* and Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*

² Pug Robin or Robin Goodfellow was a kind of merry sprite whose
 character and achievements are frequently recorded by the poets particularly
 in the well known lines of Shakspeare *Mid Night's Dream* Act II sc
 1 Pug is the same as Puck *Dry bobbing* here means dry jesting

T^e entice fanatics in the dirt,
 And wash em clean in ditches for t,
 Of which conceit you are so proud,
 At ev ry jest you laugh aloud, 1420
 As now you would have done by me,
 But that I barr d your raillery
 Sir quoth the Voice, ye re no such sophy¹
 As you would have the world judge of ye
 If you design to weigh our talents 1425
 I th standard of your own false balance,
 Or think it possible to know
 Us ghosts, as well as we do you
 We who have been the everlasting
 Companions of your drubs and basting, 1430
 And never left you in contest,
 With male or female man or beast,
 But prov d as true t ye, and entire,
 In all adventures as your Squire
 Quoth he That may be said as true, 1435
 By th idlest pug of all your crew,
 For none could have betray d us worse
 Than those allies of ours and yours²
 But I have sent him for a token
 To your low country Hogen Mogen, 1440
 To whose infernal shores I hope
 He ll swing like skippers³ in a rope
 And if ye ve been more just to me,
 As I am apt to think, than he,
 I am afraid it is as true 1445
 What th ill affected say of you
 Ye ve spous d the Covenant and Cause
 By holding up your cloven paws⁴

¹ You are no such wise person or sophister, from the Greek σοφος

² Meaning the Independents or Ralpho, whom he says he had sent to the infernal Hogen Mogen (from the Dutch *Hoogmogende*, high and mighty, or the devil) supposing he would be hung

³ Skipper is the Dutch for the master of a sloop, generally a good climber

⁴ When persons took the Covenant they attested their obligation to observe its principles by lifting up their hands to heaven. Of this South says satirically, "Holding up their hands was a sign that they were ready to strike. The Covenant here means the Solemn League and Covenant,

Sir, quoth the Voice tis true I grant,¹
 We made and took the Covenant 1400
 But that no more concerns the Cause
 Than other perjuries do the laws
 Which, when they reprov'd in open court,
 Wear wooden peccadillos for t²
 And that's the reason Covenanters 1405
 Hold³ up their hands like rogues at bars
 I see, quoth Hudibras from whence
 These scandals of the saints commence⁴
 That are but natural effects
 Of Satan's malice, and his sects 1460
 Those spider saints that hang by threads
 Spun out o' th' entrails of their heads
 Sir quoth the Voice, that may as true⁵
 And properly be said of you
 Whose talents may compare with either,⁶ 1465
 Or both the other put together
 For all the Independents do,
 Is only what you forc'd em to,
 You who are not content alone
 With tricks to put the devil down, 1470
 But must have armies rais'd to back
 The Gospel work you undertake,
 As if artillery and edge tools,
 Were th' only engines to save souls

framed by the Scots and adopted by the English ordered to be read in all churches, when every person was bound to give his consent, by holding up his hand at the reading of it

¹ Ralpho, the supposed sprite allows that they the devil and the Independents, had engaged in the Covenant but he insists that the violation of it was not at all prejudicial to the cause they had undertaken and for which it was framed

² A *peccadillo*, or more correctly *Peccadil* was a stiff collar or ruff worn round the neck and shoulders. Ludicrously it means the pillory. This collar came into fashion in the reign of James I, and is supposed to have given the name to *Peccadilly*

³ Some editions read *held up*

⁴ That is the scandalous reflections on the saints such as charging the Covenant with perjury and making the Covenanter no better than a rogue at the bar

⁵ Hudibras having been hard upon Satan and the Independents, the voice undertakes the defence of each but first of the Independents

⁶ That is either with the Independents or with the devil

While he poor devil, has no pow'r¹ 1470
 By force to run down and devour,
 Has ne'er a Classis, cannot sentence
 To stools or poundage of repentance,
 Is ty'd up only to design
 To entice and tempt and undermine 1480
 In which you all his arts outdo
 And prove yourselves his betters too
 Hence tis possessions do less evil
 Than mere temptations of the devil²
 Which all the horrid st actions done 1485
 Are charg'd in courts of law upon³
 Because unless they⁴ help the elf,
 He can do little of himself,
 And, therefore where he's best possess'd
 Acts most against his interest 1490
 Surprises none but those who've priests
 To turn him out and exorcists
 Supply'd with spiritual provision,
 And magazines of ammunition
 With crosses relics, crucifixes 1495
 Beads, pictures rosaries and pixes
 The tools of working our salvation
 By mere mechanic operation
 With holy water, like a sluice,
 To overflow all avenues 1500
 But those who're utterly unarm'd,
 To oppose his entrance if he storm'd,

¹ *He*, that is, the Independent, has no power having no classis, or spiritual jurisdiction to distress us by open and authorized vexations. Stools mean stools of repentance on which persons were compelled to stand and do penance for their sins. Poundage is the commutation of punishment for a sum of money.

² He argues that men who are influenced by the devil, and co-operate with him commit greater wickedness than he is able to perpetrate by his own agency. We seldom hear therefore of his taking an entire possession. The persons who complain most of his doing so are those who are well furnished with the means of exorcising and ejecting him such as relics, crucifixes beads pictures rosaries &c.

³ 'Not having the fear of God before their eyes but being led by the instigation of the devil, is the form of indictment for felony, murder, and other atrocious crimes.

⁴ Some editions read "*you* help

He never offers to surprise,
 Altho his falsest enemies ¹
 But is content to be their drudge 1505
 And on their errands glad to trudge
 For where are all your forfeitures
 Intrusted in safe hands but ours ?
 Who are but jailors of the holes
 And dungeons where you clap up souls, ² 1510
 Like under keepers turn the keys
 T your *mittimus* anathemas,
 And never boggle to restore
 The members you deliver o'er
 Upon demand with fairer justice 1515
 Than all you Covenanting Trustees, °
 Unless, to punish them the worse
 You put them in the secular powers
 And pass their souls as some demise
 The same estate in mortgage twice ⁴ 1520
 When to a legal utlegation
 You turn your excommunication ⁵
 And for a groat unpaid that s due
 Distrain on soul and body too ⁶
 Thought he tis no mean part of civil 1525
 State prudence to cajole the devil,
 And not to handle him too rough
 When h has us in his cloven hoof

¹ The enthusiasm of the Independents was something new in its kind no much allied to superstition

² Keep those in hell whom you are pleased to send thither by excommunication, *mittimus*, or anathema as jailors and turnkeys confine the prisoners

³ More honestly than the Presbyterians surrendered the estates which they held in trust for one another these trustees were generally Covenanters See Part i c i v 76 and Part iii c ii v 55

⁴ This alludes to the case of a Mr Sheffield who mortgaged his estate to half a dozen different people having by a previous deed demised it for *pious uses* so that all lost their money See Strafford's Letters 1739, vol i p 206

⁵ You call down the vengeance of the civil magistrate upon them, and in this second instance pass over that is take no notice of, their souls the ecclesiastical courts can excommunicate and then they apply to the civil court for an outlawry *Utlegation* means outlawry

⁶ Seize the party by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*

'Tis true, quoth he, that intercourse
 Has pass d between your friends and ours, 1530
 That, as you trust us, in our way,
 To raise your members and to lay ¹
 We send you others of our own,
 Denounc d to hang themselves or drown,²
 Or, frighted with our oratory, 1535
 To leap down headlong many a story,
 Have us d all means to propagate
 Your mighty interests of state,
 Laid out our sp ritual gifts to further
 Your great designs of rage and murther 1540
 For if the saints are nam d from blood,
 We onl have made that title good,³
 And, if it were but in our power,
 We should not scruple to do more,
 And not be half a soul behind 1545
 Of all dissenters of mankind
 Right, quoth the Voice, and, as I scorn
 To be ungrateful in return
 Of all those kind good offices,
 I ll free you out of this distress 1550
 And set you down in safety, where
 It is no time to tell you here
 The cock crows,⁴ and the morn draws on
 When tis decreed I must be gone,
 And if I leave you here till day, 1555
 You ll find it hard to get away
 With that the Spirit grop d about
 To find th enchanted hero out,

¹ *Your friends and ours* that is you devils and us fanatics that as you trust us in our way to raise you devils, and to lay them again when done with *Nash*

² It is probable that the presbyterian doctrine of reprobation had driven some persons to suicide as in the case of Alderman Hoyle, a member of the house See Birkenhead's Paul's Church Yard

³ Assuming that *sanctus* is derived from *sanguis* blood—We fanatics of this island only have merited that title by spilling much blood

⁴ It was formerly a current superstition that when the cock crowed at break of day spirits and fiends that walked by night were forced to return to their infernal prison

And try d with haste to lift him up
 But found his forlorn hope his crup,¹ 1560
 Unserviceable with kicks and blows
 Receiv d from harden d hearted foes
 He thought to drag him by the heels
 Like Gresham carts with legs for wheels ²
 But fear that soonest cures those sores, 1565
 In danger of relapse to worse
 Came in t assist him with its aid,
 And up his sinking vessel weigh d
 No sooner was he fit to trudge,
 But both made ready to dislodge, 1570
 The Spirit hors d him like a sack,
 Upon the vehicle his back
 And bore him headlong into th hall
 With some few rubs against the wall
 Where, finding out the postern lock d 1575
 And th avenues as strongly block d,
 H attack d the window storm d the glass
 And in a moment gain d the pass,
 Thro which he dragg d the worsted soldier s
 Four quarters out by th' head and shoulders 1580
 And cautiously began to scout
 To find their fellow cattle out,
 Nor was it half a minute's quest,
 Ere he retriev d the champion s beast,
 Ty d to a pale instead of rack 1585
 But ne er a saddle on his back
 Nor pistols at the saddle bow
 Convey'd away, the Lord knows how
 He thought it was no time to stay,
 And let the night too steal away 1590

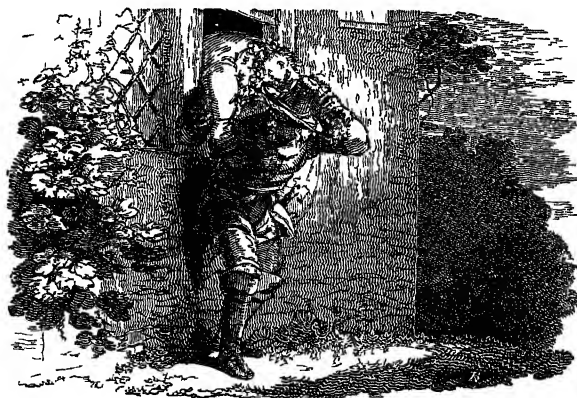
¹ His back is called his forlorn hope because that was generally exposed to danger to save the rest of his body intimating that he always turned his back on his enemies

² Butler does not forget the Royal Society who at that time held their meetings at Gresham College in Bishopsgate Street In 1662 the scheme of a cart with legs instead of wheels was brought before this Society and referred to the consideration of Mr Hooke The inventor was Mr Potter Mr Hooke was ordered to draw up a full description of this cart which together with the animadversions upon it was to be entered in the books of the Society

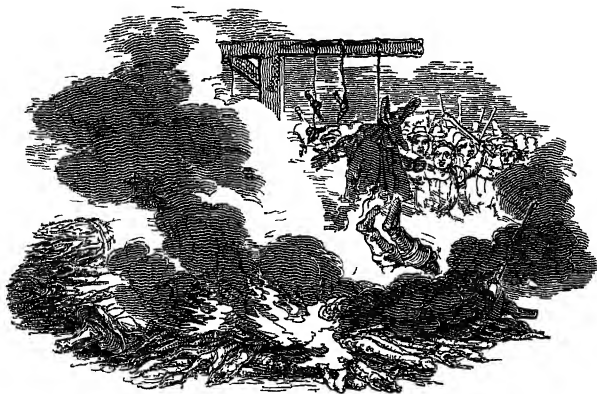
But in a trice, advanc'd the Knight
 Upon the bare ridge, bolt upright
 And groping out for Ralpho's jade
 He found the saddle too was stray'd, 1595
 And in the place a lump of soap
 On which he speedily leap'd up
 And turning to the gate the rein
 He kick'd and cudgell'd on amain
 While Hudibras with equal haste
 On both sides laid about as fast 1600
 And spurr'd as jockies use to break
 Or padders to secure, a neck ¹
 Where let us leave 'em for a time
 And to their churches turn our rhyme
 To hold forth their declining state 1605
 Which now come near an even rate ²

¹ Jockies endanger their necks by spurring their horses and galloping very fast and highwaymen called padders, from the Saxon paad high way spui their horses to save their necks

² The time now approach'd when the Presbyterians and Independents were to fall into equal disgrace and resemble the doleful condition of the Knight and Squire



PART III CANTO II



ARGUMENT

The Saints engage in fierce contests
About their carnal interests,
To share their sacrilegious preys
According to their rates of grace,
Their various frenzies to reform
When Cromwell left them in a storm,
Till, in th' effige of Rumps the rabble
Burn all their grandees of the cabal

The two last conversations have unfolded the views of the confederate sects, and prepared the way for the business of the subsequent canto. Their differences will there be agitated by characters of higher consequence and their mutual reproaches will again enable the poet to expose the knavery and hypocrisy of each. This was the principal intent of the work. The fable was considered by him only as the vehicle of his satire. And perhaps when he published the First Part, he had no more determined what was to follow in the Second, than Tristram Shandy had on a like occasion. The fable itself, the bare outlines of which I conceive to be borrowed *mutatis mutandis* from Cervantes seems here to be brought to a period. The next canto has the form of an episode. The last consists chiefly of two dialogues and two letters. Neither Knight nor Squire has any further adventures. *Nash*

PART III CANTO II¹



HE learned write, an insect breeze
 Is but a mongrel prince of bees²
 That falls before a storm on cows,
 And stings the founders of his house,
 From whose corrupted flesh that breed³ 5
 Of vermin did at first proceed³
 So, ere the storm of war broke out,
 Religion spawn'd a various rout⁴
 Of petulant capricious sects,
 The maggots of corrupted texts,⁵ 10

¹ This canto being wholly unconnected with the story of Hudibras would, in Mr Nash's opinion, have been better placed at the end indeed this arrangement has been adopted by Mr Towneley in his French translation Its different character, and its want of connexion with the foregoing, may be accounted for by supposing it written on the spur of the occasion, and with a view to recommend the author to his friends at court by an attack on the opposite faction at a time when it was daily gaining ground and the secret views of Charles II were more and more suspected and dreaded A short time before the third part of this poem was published, Shaftesbury had ceased to be a minister, and had become a furious demagogue But the canto describes the spirit of parties not long before the Restoration One object of satire here is to refute and ridicule the plea of the Presbyterians, after the Restoration of having been the principal instruments in bringing back the king

² The classical theory of the generation of bees is here applied to the breeze or gadfly, which is said by Pliny (Nat Hist xi 16) to be "a bee of larger size which chases the others" hence it may fairly be styled a prince of bees, yet but a *mongrel* prince, because not truly a bee

³ Assuming that they deposit their larvæ in the flesh of cows

⁴ Case in his thanksgiving sermon for the taking of Chester, told the Parliament, that no less than 180 errors and heresies were propagated in the city of London

⁵ The Independents and sometimes the Presbyterians, have been charged with altering a text of Scripture in order to authorize them to appoint their own ministers substituting *ye* for *we* in Acts vi 3 "Therefore brethren look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom ye may appoint over this business Mr Field is said

That first run all religion down,
 And after ev'ry swarm, its own
 For as the Persian Magi once ¹
 Upon their mothers got their sons
 That were incapable to enjoy 15
 That empire any other way ²
 So presbyter begot the other ³
 Upon the Good Old Cause his mother
 That bore them like the devil's dam ⁴
 Whose son and husband are the same 20
 And yet no natural tie of blood,
 Nor interest for their common good
 Could, when their profits interfer'd
 Get quarter for each other's beard ⁵
 For when they thriv'd they never fadg'd ⁶ 25
 But only by the ears engag'd,

to have printed *ye* instead of *we* in several editions and particularly in his beautiful folio edition of 1659 as well as his octavo of 1661 and according to Grey he was 'the first printer of the forgery and received £1500 for it But this error had previously occurred in the Bible printed at Cambridge by Buck and Daniel 1638 See Lowndes Bibliographical Manual by Bohn page 187

¹ It was about 521 years before Christ that they first had the name of Magians which signifies crop eared it was given them by way of nickname and contempt because of the impostor (Smerdis) who was then cropt Prideaux's Connection Hence perhaps might come the proverb "Who made you a conjurer and did not crop your ears"

² The poet cannot mean the *Persian empire* which was only in the hands of the Magi for a few months but the presidency of the Magi Zoroaster the first institutor of the sect allowed of incestuous marriages to preserve the line without intermixture He maintained the doctrine of a good and bad principle the former was worshipped under the emblem of fire which they kept constantly burning

³ The Presbyterians first broke down the pale of order and discipline and so made way for the Independents and every other sect

⁴ This is not the first time we have heard of the devil's mother In Wolfii Memorabilia is a quotation from Erasmus If you are the devil I am his mother And in the Agamemnon of Æschylus Cassandra, after loading Clytemnestra with every opprobrious name she can think of calls her mother of the devil Larcher the editor of the French Hudibras remarks in a note, that this passage alludes to the description of Sin and Death in the second book of Milton's Paradise Lost

⁵ When the Presbyterians prevailed Calamy being asked what he would do with the Anabaptists Antinomians and others, replied that he would not meddle with their consciences, but only with their bodies and estates

⁶ That is never agreed or united, from *gefegen*, Sax See Wright's Provincial Dictionary

Like dogs that snarl about a bone,
 And play togther when they 've none,¹
 As by their truest characters,
 Their constant actions, plain¹ appears 30
 Rebellion now began, for slack
 Of zeal and plunder, to grow slack,
 The Cause and Covenant to lessen
 And Providence to be out of season
 For now there was no more to purchase² 35
 Of the king's revenue and the churches,
 But all divided shar'd and gone,
 That us'd to urge the brethren on
 Which forc'd the stubborn st for the cause
 To cross the cudgels to the laws,³ 40
 That what by breaking them they'd gain'd,
 By their support might be maintain'd,
 Like thieves that in a hemp plot lie,
 Secur'd against the hue and cry⁴
 For Presbyter and Independent 45
 Were now turn'd plaintiff and defendant,
 Laid out their apostolic functions
 On carnal orders and Injunctions,
 And all their precious gifts and graces
 On outlawries and *scire facias* 50
 At Michael's term had many a trial,
 Worse than the dragon and St Michael,
 Where thousands fell in shape of fees,
 Into the bottomless abyss
 For when, like bretheren and friends, 55
 They came to share their dividends,⁵

¹ Butler here implies that while the Dissenters were struggling for the upper hand and had nothing to lose they were united but the moment they succeeded, the dominant party jealously excluded their former allies.

² Although the *Ordinance* which removed obstructions in the sale of the Royal Lands was passed so early as 1649, it was not till 1659 that White hall, Somerset House and Hampton Court, were ordered to be sold.

³ Cudgels across one another denote a challenge to cross the cudgels to the laws is to offer to fight in defence of them.

⁴ Meaning a plantation of hemp which being a thick cover a rogue may be concealed therein. "Thus says Butler 'he shelters himself under the cover of the law like a thief in a hemp plot, and makes that secure him which was intended for his destruction.' Remans, vol ii p 384."

⁵ When the estates of the king and Church were ordered to be sold in

And ev ry partner to possess
 His church and state joint purchases,
 In which the ablest saint and best,
 Was nam d in trust by all the rest, 60
 To pay their money, and instead
 Of ev ry brother pass the deed
 He strait converted all his gifts
 To pious frauds and holy shifts
 And settled all the others shares 65
 Upon his outward man and s heirs ,
 Held all they claim d as Forfeit Lands
 Deliver d up into his hands
 And pass d upon his conscience
 By pre entail of Providence 70
 Impeach d the rest for reprobates,
 That had no titles to estates
 But by their spiritual attaints
 Degraded from the right of saints
 This b ing reveal d they now begun 75
 With law and conscience to fall on
 And laid about as hot and brain sick
 As th utter barrister of Swanswick ,¹
 Engag d with money bags as bold
 As men with sand bags did of old,² 80

1749 great arrears were due to the army for the discharge of which some of the lands were allotted and whole regiments joined together in the manner of a corporation The distribution afterwards was productive of many law suits, the person whose name was put in trust often claiming the whole or a larger share than he was entitled to See note at page 7

¹ William Prynne already mentioned at page 30 was born at Swanswick in Somersetshire The poet calls him hot and brain sick because he was a restless and turbulent man He is called the *utter* (or outer) barrister by the court of Star chamber in the sentence ordering him to be discarded and afterwards he was voted again by the House of Commons to be restored to his place and practice as an *utter* barrister which signifies a pleader without the bar or one who is not king's counsel or serjeant

² Bishop Warburton says When the combat was demanded in a legal way by knights and gentlemen it was fought with sword and lance and when by yeomen with sand bags fastened to the end of a truncheon When tilts and tournaments were in fashion for men of knightly degree men of low degree amused themselves with running at the Quintain which was a beam with a wooden board at one end and a sand bag at the other so fixed on a post that when the board was smartly struck, it swung round

That brought the lawyers in more fees
 Than all unsanctify d trustees ,¹
 Till he who had no more to show
 I th case receiv d the overthrow
 Or, both sides having l ad the worst, 85
 They parted as they met at first
 Poor Presbyter was now reduc d,
 Secluded and cashier d and chous d¹⁰
 Turn d out and excommunicate
 From all affairs of church and state, 90
 Reform d t a reformado saint,³
 And glad to turn itinerant⁴
 To stroll and teach from town to town
 And those he had taught up, teach down,⁵
 And make those Uses serve agen⁶ 95
 Against the New enlighten d men,⁷
 As fit as when at first they were
 Reveal d against the Cavalier
 Damn Anabaptist and fanatic,
 As pat as popish and prelatie 100

rapidly and if the striker was not very nimble the sand bag struck him a heavy blow Judicial combats between common people were also fought with sand bags fixed on shafts See Henry VI Part II Act ii, where Horner and Peter are so equipped for their combat

¹ The lawyers got more fees from the Presbyterians, or saints who in general were trustees for the sequestered lands, than from all other trustees who were unsanctified *Nash*

² When Oliver Cromwell with the army and the Independents had got the upper hand they retaliated on the Presbyterians by depriving them of all power and authority and before the king was brought to trial, the Presbyterian members were "purged from the House"

³ That is, a voluntary saint without pay or commission

⁴ Amongst the schemes of the day was the appointment of itinerant preachers who were to be supported out of the lands of Deans and Chapters Walker's Hist of Independency Part ii p 156

⁵ Poor Presbyter i e the Presbyterians were glad to teach down the Independents whom as brethren and friends (v 55) they had indiscriminately taught up the unhinging doctrines of the Presbyterians having set up the Independents in direct opposition to themselves *Nash*

⁶ The sermons of these times were divided into Doctrine and Use and in the margin of them is often printed Use the first Use the second, &c

⁷ The Presbyterians endeavoured to preach down the Independents by the very same doctrines these had used in preaching down the Bishops that is by objecting to Ordination and Church government

And with as little variation,
 To serve for any sect i th nation
 The Good Old Cause¹ which some believe
 To be the dev l that tempted Eve
 With knowledge and does still invite 105
 The world to mischief with new light,
 Had store of money in her purse,
 When he took her for bett^r or worse
 But now was grown deform d and poor
 And fit to be turn d out of door 110
 The Independents whose first station
 Was in the rear of Reformation
 A mongrel kind of church dragoons²
 That serv d for horse and foot at once
 And in the saddle of one steed 115
 The Saracen and Christian rid³
 Were free of ev ry spiritual order,
 To preach and fight and pray and murder⁴
 No sooner got the start to lurch⁵
 Both disciplines of war and church, 120
 And providence enough to run
 The chief commanders of them down,
 But carry d on the war against
 The common enemy o th saints,
 And in awhile prevail d so far 125
 To win of them the game of war
 And be at liberty once more
 T attack themselves as they d before

¹ This was the designation of the party purpose of those who first got up the Covenant and Protestation

Many of the Independent officers such as Cromwell Ireton Harrison &c used to pray and preach publicly Cleveland uses the same term Kirk dragoons in his Hue and Cry after Sir John Presbyter

² The Templars were at first so poor that two knights rode on one horse Butler says the new order of Military Saints did so but that one rider was a Saracen and the other a saint Grey says in quoting Walker, that the Independents were a compound of Jew Chri tian and saint

⁴ *To preach* has a reference to the Dominicans *to fight* to the knights of Malta *to pray* to the fathers of Oratory *to murder*, to the Jesuits But the Independents assumed to themselves the privilege of every order they preached fought prayed and murdered

⁵ That is to swallow up see Skinner and Junrus A lurcher is a glut ton See Wright s Provincial Dictionary

For now there was no foe in arms
 T^h unite their factions with alarms, 130
 But all reduc d and overcome,
 Except their worst, themselves at home,
 Who d compass'd all they pray d, and swore,
 And fought, and preach d, and plunder d for,
 Subdu d the nation, church and state, 135
 And all things but their laws and hate,¹
 But when they came to treat and transact,
 And share the spoil of all they 'd ransackt,
 To botch up what they d torn and rent,
 Religion and the government, 140
 They met no sooner, but prepar'd
 To pull down all the war had spar d,
 Agreed in nothing, but t abolish,
 Subvert, extirpate and demolish
 For knaves and fools b ing near of kin, 145
 As Dutch boors are t a sooterkin,²
 Both parties join d to do their best
 To damn the public interest,
 And herded only in consults,³
 To put by one another s bolts, 150
 T outcant the Babylonian labourers,
 At all their dialects of jabberers,
 And tug at both ends of the saw,
 To tear down government and law
 For as two cheats, that play one game, 155
 Are both defeated of their am,⁴
 So those who play a game of state,
 And only cavil in debate,

¹ That is, the laws of the land, and hatred of the people

² A reflection upon the Dutch women, for their use of portable stoves which they carry by a string and on seating themselves generally put it under their petticoats whence they are humorously said to engender sooterkins with their children Howel, in his letters describes them as "likest a bat of any creature and Cleveland says "not unlike a rat

³ That is both parties were intimately united together

⁴ For as when two cheats equally masters of the very same tricks are by that circumstance mutually defeated of their am, namely to impose upon each other so those well matched tricksters, who play with state affairs, and only cavil at one another s schemes, ever counteract each other

Altho there s nothing lost nor won
 The public bus ness is undone 160
 Which still the longer tis in doing
 Becomes the surer way to ruin
 This when the Royalists perceiv d ¹
 Who to their faith as firmly cleav d
 And own d the right they had paid down 165
 So dearly for the church and crown
 Th united constanter and sided
 The more the more their foes divided
 For tho outnumber d overthrown,
 And by the fate of war run down 170
 Their duty never was defeated
 Nor from their oaths and faith retreated
 For loyalty is still the same
 Whether it win or lose the game
 True as the dial to the sun 175
 Altho it be not shin d upon ²
 But when these bretheren ³ in evil
 Their adversaries and the devil
 Began once more to show them play
 And hopes at least to have a day 180
 They rally d in parade of woods
 And unfrequented solitudes
 Conven d at midnight in outhouses
 T appoint new rising rendezvouses
 And, with a pertinacy unmatched 185
 For new recruits ⁴ of danger watch d
 No sooner was one blow diverted
 But up another party started
 And as if Nature too in haste
 To furnish out supplies as fast 190

¹ This encomium on the Royalists then prudence and suffering fidelity has been generally admired

² As the dial is invariable and always true to the sun whenever its rays emerge however its lustre may be sometimes obscured by passing clouds so true loyalty is alway ready to serve its king and country though often under the pressure of affliction and distress

³ The poet to serve his metre sometimes lengthens and sometimes contracts his words thus bretheren, lightening oppugne sarcastic affairs bungleing, sprinkleing benigne

⁴ Recruits that is Irish volunteers ready to serve the king s cause

Before her time had turn'd destruction
 T a new and numerous production,¹
 No sooner those were overcome,
 But up rose others in their room,
 That, like the Christian faith, increas'd 190
 The more the more they were suppress'd
 Whom neither chains nor transportation,
 Proscription sale nor confiscation,
 Nor all the desperate events
 Of former tried experiments, 200
 Nor wounds could terrify nor mangling,
 To leave off loyalty and dangling
 Nor death with all his bones, affright
 From vent ring to maintain the right,
 From staking life and fortune down 205
 Gainst all together,² for the crown
 But kept the title of their cause
 From forfeiture like claims in laws,
 And prov d no prosp rous usurpation
 Can ever settle on the nation, 210
 Untl, in spite of force and treason
 They put their loy lty in possession,
 And by their constancy and faith
 Destroy d the mighty men of Gath
 Toss d in a furious hurricane 215
 Did Oliver give up his reign³

¹ The succession of Loyalists was so quick that they seemed to be perishing, and others supplying their places before the periods usual in nature all which is expressed by an allusion to equivocal generation

² That is, all of them together namely, the several factions, their adversaries and the devil See v 178

³ The Monday before the death of Oliver, August 30th 1658 was the most windy day that had happened for twenty years Dennis Bond, a member of the Long Parliament, and one of the king's judges, died on this day, wherefore when Oliver likewise went away in a storm the Friday following it was said the devil came in the first wind to fetch him but finding him not quite ready took Bond for his appearance Dryden, Waller, and other poets have verses on the subject

In storms as loud as his immortal fame
 and Godolphin

In storms as loud as was his crying sin

And was believ'd as well by saints
 As moral men and miscreants ¹
 To founder in the Stygian ferry,
 Until he was retriev'd by Sterry ² 220
 Who in a false erroneous dream,³
 Mistook the New Jerusalem
 Profanely for th' apocryphal
 False heav'n at the end o' th' hall,
 Whither it was decreed by fate 225
 His precious reliques to translate
 So Romulus was seen before
 B' as orthodox a senator ⁴
 From whose divine illumination
 He stole the pagan revelation 230
 Next him his son and heir apparent
 Succeeded tho' a lame vicegerent ⁵
 Who first laid by the Parliament
 The only crutch on which he leant,

¹ Some editions read *mortal* but not with so much meaning or wit. The Independents called themselves the saints the Cavaliers and the Church of England were distinguished into two sorts the immoral and wicked they called miscreants those that were of sober and of good conversation they called moral men yet because these last did not maintain the doctrine of absolute predestination and justification by faith only but insisted upon the necessity of good works they accounted them no better than moral heathens By this opposition in terms between *moral men* and *saints* the poet seems to insinuate that the pretended saints were not men of morals

² The king's party of course maintained that Oliver Cromwell was gone to the devil but Sterry one of Oliver's chaplains assured the world of his ascent into heaven and that he would be of more use to them there than he had been in his life time

³ Sterry dreamed that Oliver was to be placed in heaven which he foolishly imagined to be the true and real heaven above but it happened to be the false carnal heaven at the end of Westminster Hall where his head was fixed after the Restoration. There were at that time three taverns abutting on Westminster Hall one called Heaven another Hell and the third Purgatory near to the former of which Oliver's head was fixed

⁴ Romulus the first Roman king being suddenly missed and the people in trouble for the loss of him Julius Proculus made a speech where in he told them that he saw Romulus that morning come down from heaven that he gave him certain things in charge to tell them, and then he saw him mount up to heaven again. Livy's Roman Hist. vol. 1. b. 1.

⁵ Richard Cromwell the eldest son of Oliver succeeded him in the protectorship but had neither capacity nor courage sufficient for his position

And then sunk underneath the state, 235
 That rode him above horseman's weight¹
 And now the saints began their reign,
 For which they'd yearn'd so long in vain,²
 And felt such bowel hankerings
 To see an empire, all of kings³ 240
 Deliver'd from th' Egyptian awe
 Of justice, government and law⁴
 And free to erect what spiritual cantons
 Should be reveal'd or gospel Hans Towns⁵
 To edify upon the ruins 245
 Of John of Leyden's old outgoings,⁶
 Who for a weather cock hung up
 Upon their mother church's top
 Was made a type, by Providence,
 Of all their revelations since, 250
 And now fulfill'd by his successors
 Who equally mistook their measures
 For when they came to shape the Model
 Not one could fit another's noddle
 But found their Light and Gifts more wide 255
 From fadging than th' unsanctify'd,
 While every individual brother
 Strove hand to fist against another

¹ See Part I Canto I l 925 where he rides the state but here the state rides him

² A sneer at the Committee of Safety See Clarendon, vol III b xvi p 544 and Baxter's Life p 74

³ They founded their hopes on Revelation I 6 and v 10

⁴ Some sectaries thought that all law proceedings should be abolished all law books burnt, and that the law of the Lord Jesus should be received alone

⁵ Alluding to the republics of Switzerland, and the German Hans Towns Hamburg Altona &c

⁶ John of Leyden, a tailor who proclaimed himself a prophet and king of the universe was the ringleader of the Anabaptists of Munster where they proclaimed a community both of goods and women This New Jerusalem as they had named it was retaken after a long siege, by its bishop and sovereign, Count Waldeck and John of Leyden and two of his associates (Knipperdollinck and Krechting) were enclosed in iron cages and carried throughout Germany for six months after which they were suspended in an iron cage and starved to death on the highest tower of the city This happened about the year 1536 See Menzel's History of Germany, vol II p 256

And still the maddest and most crackt,
 Were found the busiest to transact 260
 For tho' most hands dispatch apace
 And make light work, the proverb says,
 Yet many different intellects
 Are found to have contrary effects,
 And many heads to obstruct intrigues, 265
 As slowest insects have most legs
 Some were for setting up a king
 But all the rest for no such thing
 Unless King Jesus ¹ others tamper'd
 For Fleetwood Desborough, and Lambert ² 270
 Some for the Rump and some more crafty,
 For Agitators and the Safety, ³
 Some for the Gospel, and massacres
 Of spiritual affidavit makers ⁴

¹ 'The Fifth Monarchy Men as Bishop Burnet says 'seemed daunt to expect the appearance of Christ Carew' one of the king's judges would not plead to his indictment when brought to trial till he had entered a salvo for the jurisdiction of Jesus Christ 'saving to our Lord Jesus Christ his right to the government of these kingdoms

² Fleetwood was son in law to Cromwell having married Ireton's widow He was made lord deputy of Ireland and lieutenant general of the army Desborough married one of Cromwell's sisters and became a colonel and general at sea Lambert was the person who according to Ludlow was always kept in expectation by Cromwell of succeeding him, and was indeed the best qualified for it

³ In May 1659 the Council of Officers, with Fleetwood as then president resolved upon restoring the Long Parliament which having by deaths exclusions and expulsions been reduced to a small remnant was called the Rump In 1647 when the Parliament began to talk of disbanding the army a military council was set up consisting of the chief officers and deputies from the inferior officers and common soldiers to consult on the interests of the army These were called Adjutors and the chief management of affairs seemed to be for some time in their hands The Committee of Safety consisting of the officers of the army and some of the members of the Rump Parliament was formed in 1659 to provide for the safety of the kingdom

⁴ Some were for abolishing all laws but what were expressed in the words of the Gospel for destroying all magistracy and government and for extirpating those who should endeavour to uphold it and of these Whitelock alleges that he acted as a member of the Committee of Safety because so many were for abolishing all order that the nation was like to run into the utmost confusion The Adjutors wished to destroy all records and the courts of justice

That swore to any human regence 275
 Oaths of suprem cy and allegiance,
 Yea, tho the ablest swearing saint,
 That vouch'd the Bulls o th Covenant
 Others for pulling down th high places
 Of Synods and Provincial classes ¹ 280
 That us'd to make such hostile inroads
 Upon the saints like bloody Nimrods
 Some for fulfilling prophecies,²
 And th extirpation of th excise
 And some aganst th Egyptian bondage 285
 Of holidays, and paying poundage ³
 Some for the cutting down of groves,⁴
 And rectifying bakers loaves,
 And some for finding out expedients
 Aganst the slav ry of obedience 290
 Some were for Gospel ministers,
 And some for Red coat seculars ⁵
 As men most fit t hold forth the word,
 And wield the one and th other sword ⁶
 Some were for carrying on the work 295
 Aganst the Pope, and some the Turk
 Some for engaging to suppress
 The camisad of surplices ⁷

¹ They wished to see an end of the Presbyterian hierarchy

² That is perhaps for taking arms aganst the Pope or Spain, as the head quarters of Popery

³ The festivals or holy days of the Church had been abolished in 1647 The taxes imposed by the Parliament were numerous and heavy poundage was a rate levied, according to assessment on all personal property

⁴ That is for destroying the churches, which they regarded as built originally for purposes of idolatry and superstition It is well known that groves were anciently made use of as places of worship The rows of clustered pillars in our Gothic cathedrals branching out and meeting at top in long drawn arches are supposed to have been suggested by the venerable groves of our ancestors

⁵ Some petitioned for the continuance and maintenance of the regular clergy ministry and others thought that laymen and even soldiers who were nicknamed Church dragoons might preach the word, as some of them did particularly Cromwell and Ireton

⁶ "The sword of the Spirit which is the word of God Ephesians vi 17

⁷ Some sectaries had a violent aversion to the surplice which they called a rag of Popery *Camisado* is an expedition by night, in which the soldiers sometimes wear their shirts, called a *camisade* (from the Greek *καμισιον*,

That Gifts and Dispensations hinder d,
 And turn d to th outward man the inward ¹ 300
 More proper for the cloudy night
 Of Popery than gospel light
 Others were for abolishing
 That tool of matrimony a ring ²
 With which th unsanctify d bridegroom 305
 Is marry d only to a thumb ³
 As wise as ringing of a pig
 That us d to break up ground and dig
 The bride to nothing but her "will" ⁴
 That nulls the after marriage still 310

Latin *camisia* a surplice), over their clothes, that they may be distinguished by their comrades

¹ Transferred the purity which should remain in the heart to the vestment on the back

² Persons contracting matrimony were to publish their intentions in the next town on three market days and afterwards the contract was to be certified by a justice of the peace no ring was used, as in the new Marriage Law

³ The word *thumb* is used for the sake of rhyme the ring being put by the bridegroom upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand and something more may be meant than meets the ear as the following extract from No 614 of the Spectator seems to intimate ' Before I speak of widows I cannot but observe one thing which I do not know how to account for a widow is always more sought after than an old maid of the same age It is common enough among ordinary people for a stale virgin to set up a shop in a place where she is not known where the *large thumb ring* supposed to be given her by her husband quickly recommends her to some wealthy neighbour who takes a liking to the jolly widow that would have overlooked the venerable spinster Falstaff says

I could have crept into any alderman's *thumb ring*

I Henry IV Act II sc 4

⁴ Mr Warburton thinks this an equivocal alluding to the response which the bride makes in the marriage ceremony— I will But the poet may imply that a woman binds herself to nothing but her own will for he else where says

The souls of women are so small
 That some believe th have none at all
 Or if they have like cripples still
 They've but one faculty the will

Genuine Remains, vol 1 p 246

Some were for th' utter extirpation
 Of linsey woolsey in the nation,¹
 And some against all idolizing
 The cross in shop books, or baptizing,²
 Others to make all things recant 315
 The Christian or surname of Saint³
 And force all churches streets and towns,
 The holy title to renounce,
 Some gainst a third estate of souls,
 And bringing down the price of coals,⁴ 320
 Some for abolishing black pudding
 And eating nothing with the blood in⁵
 To abrogate them roots and branches,⁶
 While others were for eating haunches
 Of warriors and now and then, 325
 The flesh of kings and mighty men,

¹ Were for Judaizing. The Jewish law forbids the use of a garment made of linen and woollen. Lev. xix. 19.

² The Presbyterians thought it superstitious and Popish to use the sign of the cross in baptism. Butler satirizes that notion by representing them as regarding it idolatrous for tradesmen to make a cross in their books as a sign of payment.

³ Streets, parishes, churches, public foundations, and even the apostles themselves were unsainted for some years preceding the Restoration, so that St. Paul's was necessarily called Paul's, St. Ann's, Ann's, &c. See the Spectator No. 125.

⁴ The first line may allude to the doctrine of the intermediate state, in which some supposed the soul to continue from the time of its leaving the body to the resurrection, or else it may allude to the Popish doctrine of purgatory. The former subject was warmly discussed about this time. The exorbitant price of coals was then loudly complained of. Sir Arthur Hazelrigg laid a tax of four shillings a chaldron upon Newcastle coals when he was governor there. Many petitions were presented against the tax, and various schemes proposed for reducing the price of them. Shakspeare says

A pair of tribunes that have sack'd fair Rome
 To make coals cheap. Coriolanus, Act v. sc. 1.

⁵ The Judaizing sect, who were for introducing Jewish customs.

⁶ Clarendon mentions a set of levellers, who were called *root and branch men* in opposition to others who were of more moderate principles. *To abrogate*, that is, that they might utterly abrogate or renounce everything that had blood, while others were for eating haunches, alluding to Revelation xix. 18, 'That ye might eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of

And some for breaking of their bones
 With rods of iron ¹ by Secret ones ²
 For thrashing mountains ³ and with spells
 For hallowing carriers packs and bells ⁴ 330
 Things that the legend never heard of,
 But made the wicked sore afraid of ⁵
 The quacks of government ⁶ who sate
 At th' unregarded helm of state
 And understood this wild confusion 335
 Of fatal madness and delusion
 Must sooner than a prodigy
 Portend destruction to be nigh
 Consider d timely how t withdraw,
 And save their wind pipes from the law 340
 For one rencounter at the bar
 Was worse than all they d scap d in war
 And therefore met in consultation
 To cant and quack upon the nation
 Not for the sickly patient s sake 345
 Nor what to give but what to take,
 To feel the pulses of their fees
 More wise than fumbling arteries
 Prolong the snuff of life in pain
 And from the grave recover—gain 350

captains and the flesh of mighty men and the flesh of horses and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men both free and bond both small and great

¹ Ridiculing the practice so common in those days of expressing every sentiment in terms of Scripture He alludes perhaps to Psalm ii 9 Isaiah xli 15 and Revelation xix 15

² The 83rd Psalm and 3rd verse is thus translated in their favourite Genevan text "And taken counsel against thy secret ones See this expression used v 681 697, and 706 of this canto

³ A sneer at the cant of the Fifth Monarchy Men, for their misapplication of the text Isaiah xli 15

⁴ Zachariah xiv 20

⁵ Things which the Scriptures never intended but which the wicked that is the warriors kings and mighty men were afraid of

⁶ These were Hollis Anthony Ashley Cooper Grimstone Annesley Manchester Roberts and others who perceiving that Richard Cromwell was unable to conduct the government and that the various schemers who daily started up would divide the party and facilitate the restoration of the royal family thought it prudent to take care of themselves and secure their own interests with as much haste as possible

'Mong these there was a politician,
 With more heads than a beast in vision,¹
 And more intrigues in every one
 Than all the whores of Babylon ,
 So politic, as if one eye 355
 Upon the other were a spy ²
 That to trepan the one to think
 The other blind both strove to blink ,
 And in his dark pragmatic way
 As busy as a child at play 380
 He 'ad seen three governments run down,³
 And had a hand in ev'ry one ,
 Was for em and against em all,⁴
 But barb'rous when they came to fall
 For by trepanning th' old to ruin, 385
 He made his int'rest with the new one ,
 Play'd true and faithful tho' against
 His conscience, and was still advanc'd

¹ Alluding to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, mentioned in the last note. From an absurd defamation that he had the vanity to expect to be chosen king of Poland he was by many called *Tapsky*, and by others on account of his general conduct he was nicknamed *Shiftesbury*. But whatever the shafts levelled at him by the wits of the time it must never be forgotten that he carried the *Habeas Corpus* Act through Parliament.

² Lord Shaftesbury had weak eyes and squinted.

³ Those of the King, the Parliament and the Protector. First he was high sheriff of Dorsetshire, governor of Weymouth, and raised some forces for the king's service. Next he joined the Parliament, took the Covenant, and was made colonel of a regiment of horse. Afterwards he was a very busy person in setting up Cromwell to be lord protector, and then again was quite as active in deposing Richard, and restoring the Rump. Bishop Burnet says of him, that he was not ashamed to reckon up the many turns he had made, and valued himself upon effecting them at the properest season, and in the best manner. But the most powerful picture of him is that drawn by Dryden, in his *Absalom and Achitophel*.

For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
 Sagacious bold, and turbulent of wit,
 Restless, unfix'd in principles and place,
 In power unpleas'd, impatient of disgrace,
 In friendship false, implacable in hate,
 Resolv'd to run or to rule the state

⁴ Grey says, "for the shameless duplicity of Shaftesbury, see the interest ung' memous of Col. Hutchinson, by his widow

For by the witchcraft of rebellion
 Transform d t a feeble state camelion,¹ 370
 By giving aim from side to side
 He never fail d to save his tide,
 But got the start of ev'ry state
 And at a change ne'er came too late
 Could turn his word and oath, and faith, 375
 As many ways as in a lathe
 By turning wriggle like a screw,
 Int' highest trust and out for new
 For when he d happily incur d
 Instead of hemp to be preferr d 380
 And pass d upon a government²
 He play d his trick and out he went,
 But being out and out of hopes
 To mount his ladder more of ropes,³
 Would strive to raise himself upon 385
 The public rum, and his own
 So little did he understand
 The desp'rate feats he took in hand,
 For when he ad got himself a name
 For frauds and tricks he spoil d his game 390
 Had forc d his neck into a noose
 To show his play at fast and loose,⁴
 And when he chanc d t escape, mistook,
 For art and subtlety his luck
 So right his judgment was cut fit, 395
 And made a tally to his wit,
 And both together most profound
 At deeds of darkness under ground,

¹ The camelion is said to assume the colour of the nearest object

² That is, passed himself upon the government

³ It was in clandestine designs such as house breaking and the like that rope ladders were chiefly used in our post's time

⁴ *Fast and loose* called also *Pricking at the belt or girdle or garter* a cheating game still in vogue among gypsies and trampers at fairs. A leathern belt or garter is coiled up in intricate folds but with all the appearance of having an ordinary centre and then placed upon a table. The object of the player is to prick the centre fold with a skewer so as to hold fast the belt but the trickster takes hold of the ends which are double, and draws the whole away. The game is now commonly played with a piece of list, and called *Pricking at the garter*. Shakspeare alludes to it in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act iv sc 10, and in *Love's Labour Lost* Act iii sc 1

As th earth is easiest undermin'd,
 By vermin impotent and blind ¹ 400
 By all these arts, and many more,
 He d practis d long and much before,
 Our state artificer foresaw
 Which way the world began to draw
 For as old sinners have all points 405
 O th compass in their bones and joints,
 Can by their pangs and aches find
 All turns and changes of the wind
 And better than by Napier s bones,²
 Feel in their own the age of moons , 410
 So guilty sinners in a state
 Can by their crimes prognosticate,
 And in their consciences feel pain
 Some days before a show r of rain
 He therefore wisely cast about 415
 All ways he could t ensure his throat,
 And hither came t observe and smöke
 What courses othea riskers took,
 And to the utmost do his best
 To save himself and hang the rest 420
 To match this saint there was another,
 As busy and perverse a brother,³

¹ The poet probably means earthworms which are still more impotent and blind than moles

² See "Napier's bones" explained at page 257

³ It is supposed that this character is intended for Colonel John Lilburn whose repugnance to all, especially legal authority manifested itself in whatever shape it appeared whether Monarchy or Protectorate. He had been severely censured in the Star chamber for dispersing seditious pamphlets, and on that account was afterwards rewarded by the Parliament, and preferred by Cromwell. But when Cromwell was made Protector, Lilburn forsook him and afterwards writing and speaking vehemently was arraigned of treason. He was an uncompromising leveller and strong opponent of all that was uppermost, a man of such an inveterate spirit of contradiction that it was commonly said of him if the world were emptied of all but himself John would be against Lilburn and Lilburn against John which part of his character gave occasion to the following lines at his death

Is John departed, and is Lilburn gone ?
 Farewell to both to Lilburn and to John
 Yet being dead take this advice from me
 Let them not both in one grave buried be,
 Lay John here and Lilburn thereabout,
 For if they both should meet they would fall out

An haberdasher of small wares ¹
 In politics and state affairs
 More Jew than Rabb Achithophel,² 425
 And better gifted to rebel,
 For when h^e had taught his tribe to 'spouse
 The Cause aloft upon one house
 He scorn'd to set his own in order,
 But try'd another and went further 430
 So sullenly addicted still
 To 's only principle his will
 That whatsoe'er it chanc'd to prove,
 No force of argument could move,
 Nor law, nor cavalcade of Ho born,³ 435
 Could render half a grain less stubborn,
 For he at any time would hang,
 For th^e opportunity t^h harangue,
 And rather on a gibbet dangle,
 Than miss his dear delight, to wrangle, 440
 In which his parts were so accomplish'd,
 That, right or wrong, he ne'er was non-plust
 But still his tongue ran on, the less
 Of weight it bore with greater ease,
 And, with its everlasting clack 445
 Set all men's ears upon the rack
 No sooner could a hint appear
 But up he started to picquer ⁴
 And made the stoutest yield to mercy,
 When he engag'd in controversy, 450
 Not by the force of carnal reason,
 But indefatigable teasing
 With volleys of eternal babble
 And clamour, more unanswerable

¹ Lilburn had been bred a tradesman Clarendon says a bookbinder, but Wood makes him a packer

² Achithophel was one of David's counsellors who joined the rebellious Absalom, and assisted him with very artful advice but hanged himself when it was not implicitly followed 2 Samuel xvi 23

³ When criminals were executed at Tyburn they were generally conveyed in carts by the sheriff and his attendants on horseback, from New gate, along Holborn, and Oxford street

⁴ A military term, which signifies to skirmish

For tho' his topics, frail and weak, 450
 Cou d ne er amount above a freak,
 He still maintan d 'em like his faults,
 Against the desp ratest assaults ,
 And back d their feeble want of sense,
 With greater heat and confidence ¹ 460
 As bones of Hectors when they differ,
 The more they re cudgell d grow the stiffer ²
 Yet when his profit moderated ³
 The fury of his heat abated
 For nothing but his interest 465
 Could lay his devil of contest
 It was his choice or chance, or curse,
 T^r espouse the Cause for better or worse,
 And with his worldly goods and wit,
 And soul and body, worshipp d it ⁴ 470
 But when he found the sullen trapes
 Possess d with th devil worms and claps ,
 The Trojan mare, in foal with Greeks,⁵
 Not halt so full of jadish tricks,
 Tho' squeamish in her outward woman, 475
 As loose and rampant as Doll Common ,⁶
 He still resolv d to mend the matter,
 T adhere and cleave the obstinater
 And still the skittisher and looser
 Her freaks appeared to sit the closer , 480
 For fools are stubborn in their way
 As coins are harden d by th allay ⁷

¹ When Lilburn was arraigned for treason against Cromwell he pleaded at his trial that no treason could be committed against such a government and what he had done was in defence of the liberties of his country

² A pun upon the word stuffer

³ That is swayed and governed him

⁴ Alluding to the words in the office of matrimony "With my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow"

⁵ Alluding to the stratagem of the Wooden Horse at the siege of Troy See *Vulgi's Aeneid* Book II

⁶ A prostitute in Ben Jonson's play of *The Alchymist*

⁷ *Allay* and *alloy* were in Butler's time used indifferently although now employed in an opposite sense The more copper a silver coin contains the harder it is gold coins contain two parts, in every twenty four of alloy

And obstinacy s ne er so stiff
 As when 'tis in a wrong belief ¹
 These two with others being met,² 485
 And close in consultation set,
 After a discontented pause
 And not without sufficient cause,
 The orator we mention'd late
 Less troubled with the pangs of state, 490
 Than with his own impatience
 To give himself first audience
 After he had awhile look'd wise
 At last broke silence and the ice
 Quoth he There s nothing makes me doubt 495
 Our last Outgoings ³ brought about,
 More than to see the characters
 Of real Jealousies and Fears
 Not feign'd as once but sadly horrid ⁴
 Scor'd upon ev'ry member's forehead 500
 Who, cause the clouds are drawn together,
 And threaten sudden change of weather,
 Feels pangs and aches of state turns,
 And revolutions in their corns,

¹ The same sentiment is differently expressed in the Remains, vol 1 page 181

For as implicit faith is far more stiff
 Than that which understands its own belief
 So those that think and do but think they know
 Are far more obstinate than those that do
 And more averse than if they'd ne'er been taught
 A wrong way to a right one to be brought

² A cabal met at Whitehall at the same time that General Monk dined with the city of London

³ Outgoings and workings out are among the cant terms used by Sectaries referred to in a note at page 3 'The Nonconformist (says Butler in his Remains) does not care to have anything founded on right, but left at large to the dispensation and *outgoings* of Providence

⁴ Not feigned and pretended as formerly in the beginning of the Parliament when they stirred up the people against the king by forging letters suborning witnesses, and making an outcry of strange plots being carried on and horrible dangers being at hand For instance the people were incensed by reports that the Papists were about to fire their houses, and cut their throats while they were at church that troops of soldiers were kept under ground to do execution upon them and even that the Thames was to be blown up with gunpowder Bates s Elench Motnum

And, since our workings out are crost, 505
 Throw up the Cause before tis lost
 Was it to run away we meant,
 Who, taking of the Covenant,
 The lamest cripples of the brothers
 Took oaths to run before all others,¹ 510
 But in their own sense only swore,
 To strive to run away before,
 And now would prove that words and oath
 Engage us to renounce them both ?
 'Tis true the Cause is in the lurch, 515
 Between a right and mongrel church ,
 The Presbyter and Independent
 That stickle which shall make an end on't,
 As twas made out to us the last
 Expedient—I mean Marg ret s fast ² 520
 When Providence had been suborn d,
 What answer was to be return d ³
 Else why should tumults fright us now,
 We have so many times gone thro ,
 And understand as well to tame 525
 As, when they serve our turns, t inflame ?

¹ These were the words used in the Solemn League and Covenant “our true and unfeigned purpose is, each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation

² The lectures and exercises delivered on days of public devotion were called *expedients*. Besides twenty five days of solemn fasting and humiliation on extraordinary occasions there was a fast kept every month for about eight years together. The Commons attended divine service in St Margaret s church, Westminster. The reader will observe that the orator does not say *Saint Margaret s* but *Margaret s* fast. Some of the sectaries instead of Saint Peter or Saint Paul would, in derision say Sir Peter and Sir Paul. See note at page 54. The Parliament petitioned the king for fasts, while he had power and the appointing them afterwards themselves, was an *expedient* they made use of to alarm and deceive the people who, upon such an occasion, could not but conclude there was some more than ordinary impending danger, or some important business carrying on

³ These sectaries pretended a great familiarity with Heaven and when, any villany was to be transacted, they would seem in their prayers to propose their doubts and scruples to God Almighty, and after having debated the matter some time with him, they would turn their discourse and bring forth an answer suitable to their designs which the people were to look upon as suggested from heaven. See note at page 66

Have prov d how inconsiderable
 Are all Engagements of the rabble
 Whose frenzies must be reconcil d
 With drums and rattles, like a child 530
 But never prov d so prosperous
 As when they were led on by us
 For all our scouring of religion
 Began with tumults and sedition
 When hurricanes of fierce commotion 535
 Became strong motives to devotion
 As carnal seamen, in a storm
 Turn pious converts and reform
 When rusty weapons with chalk d edges,
 Maintain d our feeble privileges 540
 And brown bills levy d in the city,¹
 Made bills to pass the Grand Committee
 When zeal with aged clubs and gleaves²
 Gave chase to rochets and white sleeves³
 And made the church and state, and laws, 545
 Submit t old iron and the Cause

¹ Apprentices armed with occasional weapons Ainsworth in his Dictionary translates *sparum* a brown bill Bishop Warburton says to fight with rusty or poisoned weapons (see Shakspeare's Hamlet) was against the law of arms So when the citizens used the former they chalked the edges Samuel Johnson in the octavo edition of his Dictionary says *brown bill* was the ancient weapon of the English foot 'so called perhaps because sanguined to prevent the rust The common epithet for a sword or other offensive weapon in the old metrical romances is brown as brown brand or brown sword brown bill &c Shakspeare says

So with a band of bowmen and of pikes

Brown bills and targeteers 400 strong

I come

Edward II Act II

In the ballad of Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne printed in Percy's Reliques, line 1508, we have

With new chalk d bills and rusty arms

Butler in his MS Common place book says 'the confident man's wit is like a watchman's bill with a chalked edge that pretends to sharpness, only to conceal its dull bluntness from the public view

² Zealots armed with old clubs and *gleaves* or swords

³ Rochets and white sleeves are used figuratively for the bishops, who were the objects of many violent popular demonstrations, and often as assaulted by armed mobs in the beginning of the troubles

And as we thriv'd by tumults then,
 So might we better now agen,
 If we knew how, as then we did,
 To use them rightly in our need 550
 Tumults, by which the mutinous
 Betray themselves instead of us,
 The hollow hearted, disaffected,
 And close malignant are detected,
 Who lay their lives and fortunes down, 555
 For pledges to secure our own,
 And freely sacrifice their ears
 T' appease our jealousies and fears
 And yet for all these providences
 We are offer'd if we had our senses, 560
 We idly sit, like stupid blockheads,
 Our hands committed to our pockets,
 And nothing but our tongues at large,
 To get the wretches a discharge
 Like men condemn'd to thunder bolts, 565
 Who ere the blow become mere dolts,¹
 Or fools besotted with their crimes,
 That know not how to shift betimes,
 And neither have the hearts to stay,
 Nor wit enough to run away 570
 Who if we could resolve on either,
 Might stand or fall at least together,
 No mean nor trivial solaces
 To partners in extreme distress
 Who use to lessen their despairs, 575
 By parting them into equal shares
 As if the more they were to bear,²
 They felt the weight the easier
 And every one the gentler hung,
 The more he took his turn among 580
 But tis not come to that, as yet,
 If we had courage left, or wit,

¹ Some of the ancients were of opinion that thunder stupified before it killed and there is a well known proverb to this effect *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat* He whom God would ruin he first deprives of his senses See Ammian Marcellin, and Pliny's Natural History, II 54

² Some editions read, the more *there* were to bear

Who when our fate can be no worse,
 Are fitted for the bravest course
 Have time to rally and prepare 580
 Our last and best defence despair
 Despair by which the gallant st feats
 Have been achiev d in greatest straits,
 And horrid st dangers safely wav d
 By bing courageously outbrav d 590
 As wounds by wider wounds are heal d,
 And poisons by themselves expell d ¹
 And so they might be now agen
 If we were what we should be men
 And not so dully desperate 595
 To side against ourselves with fate
 As criminals condemn d to suffer
 Are blinded first and then turn d over
 This comes of breaking covenants
 And setting up exempts of saints ² 600
 That fine like aldermen for grace,
 To be excus d the efficace ³
 For sp ritual men are too transcendent,
 That mount their banks for independent,⁴
 To hang like Mah met in the air ⁵ 605
 Or St Ignatius at his prayer ⁶

¹ Sneering at Sir Kenelm Digby and others, who asserted that the sting of a scorpion was curable by its own oil See v 1029 of this canto

² Dispensing in particular instances with the covenant and obligations In the early editions exempts is printed *exauns*, according to the old French pronunciation

³ Persons who are nominated to an office and pay the accustomed fine are considered to have performed the service Thus some of the sectaries if they paid handsomely were deemed saints and full of grace, though from the tenor of their lives they merited no such distinction compounding for their want of real grace, that they might be excused the drudgery of good works for spiritual men are too transcendent to grovel in good works namely those spiritual men that mount their banks for independent *Efficace* signifies actual performance

⁴ *Etre sur les bancs* is to hold a dispute to assert a claim to contest a right or an honour to be a competitor

⁵ They need no such support as the body of Mahomet which legends averred was suspended in the air by being placed in a steel coffin between two magnets of equal power

⁶ Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits An old soldier at the siege of Pampeluna by the French he had both his legs wounded, the left

By pure geometry, and hate
 Dependence upon church or state
 Disdain the pedantry o' th' letter,¹
 And since obedience is better 610
 The Scripture says than sacrifice,
 Presume the less on't will suffice,
 And scorn to have the moderate stints
 Prescribed their peremptory hints,
 On any opinion true or false 615
 Declared as such in doctrinals;²
 But left at large to make their best on
 Without being called to account or quest on
 Interpret all the spleen reveals,
 As Whittington explained the bells,² 620
 And bid themselves turn back again
 Lord Mayors of New Jerusalem
 But look so big and overgrown,
 They scorn their edifiers to own,
 Who taught them all their sprinkling lessons, 625
 Their tones and sanctified expressions,
 Bestowed their gifts upon a saint,
 Like charity on those that want
 And learn'd the apocryphal bigots
 To inspire themselves with shorthand notes,³ 630
 For which they scorn and hate them worse
 Than dogs and cats do sow gelders

by a stone the right broken by a bullet His fervours in devotion were so strong that according to the legend, they sometimes raised him two cubits from the ground and sustained him for a considerable time together

¹ That is they did not suffer their consciences to be controlled by the letter of Scripture but rather interpreted Scripture by their consciences

Every one knows the legend of Dick Whittington who, having run away from his master as far as Highgate heard the bells of Bow ringing

Turn again Whittington
 Thrice Mayor of London

An augury which he obeyed, and in time realized being Lord Mayor in the years 1397, 1406 and 1419 he also amassed a fortune of £350,000 See Tatler No 78

³ Learn'd that is taught in which sense it is used by the old poets *Apocryphal bigots* not genuine ones, some suppose to be a kind of second rate Independent divines that availed themselves of the genuine bigots or Presbyterian minister's discourse by taking down the heads of it in shorthand and then retelling it at private meetings The accent is laid upon the last syllable of *bigot*

For who first bred them up to pray
 And teach the House of Commons way ?
 Where had they all their gifted phrases 635
 But from our Calamies and Cases ?¹
 Without whose sprinkeling and sowing
 Whoe er had heard of Nye or Owen ?²
 Their dispensations had been stified
 But for our Adoniram Byfield³ 640
 And had they not begun the war
 They d ne er been santed as they are⁴
 For saints in peace degenerate
 And dwindle down to reprobate
 Their zeal corrupts like standing water 645
 In th intervals of war and slaughter

¹ Calamy was minister of Aldermanbury London a zealous Presbyterian and Covenanter and frequent preacher before the Parliament He was one of the first who whispered in the conventicles what afterward he proclaimed openly that for the cause of religion it was lawful for the subjects to take up arms against the king Case also a Presbyterian upon the deprivation of a loyalist became minister of Saint Mary Magdalen church Milk street where it was usual with him thus to invite his people to the communion

You that have freely and liberally contributed to the Parliament, for the defence of God s cause and the gospel draw near &c instead of the words Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins He was one of the Assembly of Divines preached for the Covenant and printed his sermon preached often before the Parliament, was a bitter enemy to Independents and concerned with Love in his plot

² Philip Nye was an Independent preacher zealous against the king and bishops beyond most of his brethren He went on purpose into Scotland to expedite the Covenant and preached before both Houses in England when that obligation was taken by them He was at first a Presbyterian and one of the Assembly but afterwards left them At the Restoration it was debated by the Healing Parliament for several hours whether he should not be excepted from life Doctor Owen was the most eminent divine of the Independents and in great credit with Cromwell He was promoted by them to the deanery of Christchurch of Oxford In 1654 being vice chancellor he offered to represent the university in Parliament and to remove the objection of his being a divine renounced his orders and pleaded that he was a layman He was returned but his election being questioned in the committee he sat only a short time

³ Byfield, originally an apothecary was a noted Presbyterian chaplain to Colonel Cholmondeley s regiment in the Earl of Essex s army and one of the scribes to the Assembly of Divines Afterwards he became minister of Collingborn in Wilts and assistant to the commissioners in ejecting scandalous ministers

⁴ Had not the divines on the Presbyterian side fomented the differences the Independents would never have come into play or been taken notice of

Abates the sharpness of its edge,
 Without the pow'r of sacrilege ¹
 And tho' they 've tricks to cast their sins
 As easy s serpents do their skins 600
 That in a while grow out agen
 In peace they turn mere carnal men,
 And from the most refin'd of saints,
 As nat rally grow miscreants
 As barnacles turn soland geese 655
 In th' islands of the Orcades ²
 Their Dispensation s but a ticket
 For their conforming to the wicked
 With whom their greatest difference
 Lies more in words and show than sense 660

¹ That is if they have not the power and opportunity of committing sacrilege by plundering the church lands

² This was a common notion with the early Naturalists, and is among the figured wonders in *Olaus Magnus de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* 1555 Gerald's Herbal *Gotofred's Archontologia Cosmica* and several other old folios. But the poet is probably hitting at the Royal Society who in their twelfth volume of the Philosophical Transactions No 137 p 925 give Sir Robert Moray's account of Barnacles hanging upon trees each containing a little bird so completely formed that nothing appeared wanting as to the external parts for making up a perfect sea fowl the little bill like that of a goose the eyes marked the head neck breast and wings tail and feet formed the feathers every way perfectly shaped, and blackish coloured and the feet like those of other water fowls Pennant explains this by observing that the Barnacle (*Lepas anatifera*) is furnished with a feathered beard, which in a credulous age, was believed to be part of a young bird it is often found adhering to the bottoms of ships Sir John Mandeville in his *Voyages* says, In my country there are trees that do bear fruit that become birds flying, and they are good to eat and that which falls in the water lives and that which falls on the earth dies Hector Boetius in his *History of Scotland* tells us of a goose bearing tree, as it is called in the Orcades that is one whose leaves falling into the water, are turned to those geese which are called Soland geese and found in prodigious number in those parts In Moore's *Travels into the inland parts of Africa* p 54 we read 'This evening December 18 1730 I supped upon oysters which grew upon trees Down the river (Gambia) where the water is salt and near the sea the river is bounded with trees called mangroves whose leaves being long and heavy weigh the boughs into the water To these leaves the young oysters fasten in great quantities where they grow till they are very large and then you cannot separate them from the tree, but are obliged to cut off the boughs the oysters hanging on them resemble a rope of onions

For as the Pope that keeps the gate
 Of heaven wears three crowns of state,¹
 So he that keeps the gate of hell
 Proud Cerberus wears three heads as well
 And if the world has any troth,
 Some have been canoniz'd in both
 But that which does them greatest harm,
 Then spiritual gizzards are too warm²
 Which puts the overheated sots
 In fevers still like other goats³
 For tho' the Whore bends hereticks
 With flames of fire like crooked sticks,⁴
 Our schismatics so vastly differ
 Th' hotter they're they grow the stiffer,
 Still setting off their spiritual goods
 With fierce and pertinacious feuds
 For zealous a dreadful termagant
 That teaches saints to tear and rant,
 And Independents to profess
 The doctrine of Dependences,⁵
 Turns meek and sneaking Secret ones⁶
 To raw heads fierce and bloody bones,
 And not content with endless quarrels
 Against the wicked and their morals,
 The Gibellines for want of Guelfs,⁷
 Divert their rage upon themselves

660

670

670

680

685

¹ The pope claims the power of the keys and the tiara or triple crown is a badge of papal dignity

² Persons are said to have a broiling in their gizzards when they stomach anything very much

³ This was an old medical superstition Varro ii 3 5 &c

⁴ Rome was identified with the whore of Babylon mentioned in the Revelations and the Romanists are said to have attempted the conversion of infidels by means of fire and faggots, as men made crooked sticks straight by fire and steam

⁵ "I am called an Independent" said one when asked by a Magistrate (before whom he went to make his declarations and obtain his license) because I *depend upon my Bible*

⁶ The early editions read thus but Grey reads "secret sneaking ones"

⁷ These names of distinction were first made use of at Pistoia where when the magistrates expelled the Panzaticchi there chanced to be two brothers Germans one of whom named Guelf, was for the pope the other Gibel for the emperor The spirit of these parties raged with great violence in Italy and Germany during the middle ages Dr Heylin says some are

For now the war is not between
 The brethren and the men of sin,
 But saint and saint to spill the blood
 Of one another's brotherhood, 690
 Where neither side can lay pretence
 To liberty of conscience ¹
 Or zealous suffering for the Cause
 To gain one groat's worth of applause,
 For tho' endur'd with resolution, 695
 'Twill ne'er amount to persecution,
 Shall precious saints, and Secret ones,
 Break one another's outward bones ²
 And eat the flesh of bretheren,
 Instead of kings and mighty men ³ 700
 When fiends agree among themselves ³
 Shall they ⁴ be found the greater elves ³
 When Bel's at union with the Dragon,
 And Baal Peor friends with Dagon,
 When savage bears agree with bears, 705
 Shall Secret ones lug saints by th' ears,
 And not atone their fatal wrath ⁵
 When common danger threatens both ³
 Shall mastiffs, by the collars pull'd
 Engag'd with bulls let go their hold 710
 And saints whose necks are pawn'd at stake ⁶
 No notice of the danger take ³
 But tho' no pow'r of heav'n or hell
 Can pacify fanatic zeal
 Who would not guess there might be hopes, 715
 The fear of gallowses and ropes

of opinion that the fiction of *Elfs* and *Goblins* by which we used to frighten children was derived from *Guelphs* and *Ghibellines*. Butler wrote these lines before the Guelphs had become the ancestors of our own royal line. See the genealogy in Burke's Royal Pedigrees.

¹ That is not having granted liberty of conscience

² A sneer upon the abuse of Scripture phrases alluding to Psalm 119, the same may be said of lines 326, 328 and 700

³ O shame to men! devil with devil damn'd

Firm concord holds——

Paradise Lost, II. 496

⁴ *They* that is the saints see v. 689, 697

⁵ *Atone* that is reconcile see v. 717

⁶ That is *and saints* whose all is at stake, as they will be hanged if things do not take a friendly turn

Before their eyes might reconcile
 Their animosities a while?
 At least until they d a clear stage,
 And equal Freedom to engage, 720
 Without the danger of surprise
 By both our common enemies ?*

This none but we alone could doubt¹
 Who understood their Workings out
 And know em both in soul and conscience 72
 Given up t as reprobate a nonsense²
 As spiritual out laws whom the pow r
 Of miracle can ne er restore
 We whom at first they set up under,
 In revelation only f plunder 730
 Who since have had so many trials
 Of their encroaching Self denials³
 That rook d upon us with design⁴
 To out reform and undermine
 Took all our int rests and commands 735
 Perfidiously out of our hands
 Involv d us in the Guilt of Blood
 Without the motive gains allow d,⁵
 And made us serve as ministerial
 Like younger sons of father Belial 740
 And yet for all th inhuman wrong
 They d done us and the Cause so long
 We never fail d to carry on
 The work still as we had begun
 But true and faithfully obey d 745
 And neither preach d them hurt nor pray d
 Nor troubled them to crop our ears,
 Nor hang us, like the Cavaliers ,

¹ We alone could doubt that the fear of the gallows might reconcile their animosities, &c

² Given up to such a state of reprobation and the guidance of their own folly that nothing not even miraculous power can restore them

³ The Independents got rid of the Presbyterian leaders by the Self deny ing Ordinances

⁴ That played the cheat

⁵ That is, without allowing us the gains which were the motives to such actions

Nor put them to the charge of jails,
 To find us pill ries and carts' tails 750
 Or hangman's wages¹ which the state
 Was forc'd before them, to be at
 That cut like tallies, to the stumps,
 Our ears for keeping true accompts²
 And burnt our vessels, like a new 760
 Seal'd peck or bush'l, for being true
 But hand in hand, like faithful brothers,
 Held forth the Cause against all others,
 Disdaining equally to yield
 One syllable of what we held 760
 And though we differ'd now and then
 Bout outward things and outward men,
 Our inward men, and Constant Frame
 Of spirit, still were near the same,
 And till they first began to cant³ 765
 And sprinkle down the Covenant,
 We ne'er had Call in any place
 Nor dream'd of teaching down Free grace,
 But join'd our gifts perpetually,
 Against the common enemy, 770
 Although 'twas ours and their opinion
 Each other's church was but a Rimmon⁴

¹ The value of thirteen pence halfpenny in a coin called a *thirteen* which the State had to defray when the Puritans' ears were cropped

² Tallies are corresponding notches made by small traders on sticks, which are cut down as the accompts are settled. The meaning seems to be the State made us suffer for keeping true accounts, or for being true, cutting our ears like tallies and branding the vessels of our bodies like a measure with the mark fresh upon it. There was a seal put upon true and just measures and weights

³ The term cant is derived from Mr Andrew Cant, and his son Alexander whose seditious preaching and praying was in Scotland called canting Grey

⁴ A Syrian idol See 2 Kings v 18 And Paradise Lost, i 467

Him followed Rimmon whose delightful seat
 Was fan Damascus on the fertile banks
 Of Abbana and Pharphar lucid streams

The meaning is that in the opinion of both church communion with each other was a like case with that of Naaman's bowing himself in the house of Rimmon equally laying both under the necessity of a petition for pardon the Independents knew that their tenets were so opposite to those of

And yet for all this Gospel union
 And outward show of church communion
 They d ne er admit us to our sh^ues 775
 Of iuling church or state affairs
 Nor give us leave t absolve or sentence
 T our own conditions of repentance
 But shar d our dividend o th crown
 We had so painfully preach d down 780
 And forc d us though against the grain
 T have Calls to teach it up agam¹
 For twas but justice to restore
 The wrongs we had receiv d before
 And when twas held forth in our way 785
 We d been ungrateful not to pay
 Who for the right we ve done the nation
 Have earn d our temporal salvation
 And put our vessels in a way
 Once more to come again in play 790
 For if the turning of us out
 Has brought this providence about
 And that our only suffering
 Is able to bring in the king²
 What would our actions not have done 795
 Had we been suffer d to go on²
 And therefore may pretend t a share
 At least in Carryng on th affair
 But whether that be so or not,
 We ve done enough to have it thought 800

the Presbyterians that they could not coalesce, and therefore concealed them till they were strong enough to declare them

¹ The Presbyterians entered into several plots to restore the king For it was but justice said they to repair the injuries we had received from the Independents and when monarchy was offered to be restored in our own sense and with all the limitations we desired it had been ungrateful not to consent *Nash*

² Many of the Presbyterians says Lord Clarendon when ousted from their preferment or excluded from the House of Commons by the Independents pretended to make a merit of it in respect of their loyalty And some of them had the confidence to present themselves to King Charles the Second both before and after his Restoration, as sufferers for the crown this behaviour is ridiculed in many parts of this canto

And that's as good as if we d done t,
 And easier past upon account
 For if it be but half denied,
 'Tis half as good as justified
 The world is naturally averse 805
 To all the truth it sees or hears,
 But swallows nonsense and a lie,
 With greediness and gluttony
 And tho' it have the pique, and long,
 'Tis still for something in the wrong ¹ 810
 As women long when they re with child
 For things extravagant and wild,
 For meats ridiculous and fulsome,
 But seldom anything that s wholesome ,
 And, like the world, men s jobbernoles 815
 Turn round upon their ears the poles, ²
 And what they 're confidently told,
 By no sense else can be controll d
 And this, perhaps, may be the means
 Once more to hedge in Providence 820
 For as relapses make diseases
 More desp rate than their first accesses,
 If we but get again in pow r,
 Our work is easier than before ,
 And we more ready and expert 825
 I th mystery to do our part
 We who did rather undertake
 The first war to create than make, ³
 And when of nothing twas begun
 Rais d funds as strange, to carry 't on ⁴ 830
 Trepann d the state, and fac d it down,
 With plots and projects of our own

¹ *Pique*, or *pica* is a depraved appetite or desire of improper food, to which sickly females are more especially subject For an amusing account of these longings, see Spectator No 326

² Men s *heads* are turned with the lies and nonsense poured into their ears See v 1008

³ By creating war, he means finding pretences for it, stirring up and fomenting it By making war, he means, waging and carrying it on

⁴ The taxes levied by Parhamment in four years are said to have been £17,512 400

And if we did such feats at first ¹
 What can we now we re better vers d ?
 Who have a fierer latitude 830
 Than sinners give themselves allow d ,
 And therefore likeliest to bring in ,
 On fairest terms our Discipline ,
 To which it was reveal d long since
 We were ordain d by Providence 840
 When three saints ears our predecessors
 The Cause s primitive confessors ²
 B ing crucify d the nation stood
 In just so many years of blood
 That, multiply d by six express d 845
 The perfect Number of the Beast ⁴
 And prov d that we must be the men
 To bring this work about agen ,
 And those who laid the first foundation,
 Complete the thorough Reformation 850
 For who have gifts to carry on
 So great a work but we alone ?
 What churches have such able pastors
 And precious powerful, preaching masters ?
 Possess d with absolute dominions 855
 O er brethren s purses and opinions

¹ The schemes described in these lines are those which the Presbyterians were charged with practising in the beginning of the civil commotions to enrage the people against the king and the Church of England

² Burton Prynne and Bastwick who before the civil war were set in the pillory and had their ears cropt The severe sentence which was passed on these persons and on Leighton contributed much to inflame the minds of men and to incense them against the bishops the Star chamber and the government

³ The civil war lasted six years from 1642 till the death of the king in 1648 9

⁴ Alluding to Revelations ch xiii 18 Here is wisdom Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast for it is the number of a man and his number is six hundred threescore and six The multiplication of three units by six gives three sixes and the juxtaposition of three sixes makes 666 or six hundred sixty six the number of the beast This mysterious number and name excited the curiosity of mankind very early and the conjectural solutions of it are numberless every nation, sect or person finding by one means or other that the name of the hostile nation, sect or person, involved the mystical 666

And trusted with the Double key¹
 Of heaven, and their warehouses²
 Who when the Cause is in distress,
 Can furnish out what sums they please 860
 That brooding lie in bankers hands,
 To be dispos'd at their commands,
 And daily increase and multiply,
 With doctrine use and usury
 Can fetch in parties as in war 865
 All other heads of cattle are,
 From th' enemy of all religions,
 As well as high and low conditions
 And share them from blue ribbons down
 To all blue aprons in the town¹ 870
 From ladies hurry'd in calleches,
 With cornets at their footmen's breeches,²
 The bawds as fat as mother Nab
 All guts and belly, like a crab³
 Our party's great and better tied 875
 With oaths and trade than any side⁴
 Has one considerable improvement,
 To double fortify the Covenant,
 I mean our covenants to purchase
 Delinquents titles and the churches 880
 That pass in sale from hand to hand
 Among ourselves for current land,
 And rise or fall like Indian actions⁵
 According to the rate of factions,
 Our best reserve for Reformation, 885
 When New outgoings give occasion

¹ Supposed by Dr Grey to mean the tradesmen and their apprentices who wore blue aprons and took a very active part in the troubles both by preaching and fighting. But it appears from the Rump Songs that preachers also wore blue aprons.

Calleche or calash a light carriage. Cornets were ornaments which servants wore upon their breeches.

³ Ladies of this profession are generally described as coarse and fat. The orator means that the leaders of the faction could fetch in parties of all ranks from the highest to the lowest.

⁴ The strength of the Presbyterian party lay in the citizens.

⁵ Grey thinks this alludes to the subscription set on foot at the general court of the East India House Oct. 19, 1657. *Mercurius Politicus* No. 387.

That keeps the loins of biethren girt
 Their Covenant their creed t assert ¹
 And, when they ve pack d a parliament,
 Will once more try th expedient 890
 Who can already muster friends
 To serve for members to our ends
 That represent no part o th nation,
 But Fisher s folly congregation ²
 Are only tools to our intrigues 895
 And sit like geese to hatch our eggs,
 Who by their precedents of wit
 T outfast, outloiter and outsit ³
 Can order matters under hand
 To put all bus ness to a stand 900
 Lay public bills aside for private,
 And make em one another drive out
 Divert the great and necessary
 With trifles to contest and vary
 And make the nation represent, 905
 And serve for us in parliament,

¹ A lay preacher at Banbury sud 'We know O Lord, that Abraham made a covenant and Moses and David made a covenant and our Saviour made a covenant but the Parliament s covenant is the greatest of all covenants The Marquis of Hamilton being sent into Scotland to appease the troubles there demanded of the Scotch that they should renounce the covenant they answered that they would sooner renounce their baptism

² Jasper Fisher one of the six clerks in Chancery a member of the gold smith s company and justice of the peace spent his fortune in laying out magnificent gardens and building a fine house which therefore was called Fisher s Folly After having been the residence of the Earl of Oxford and Sir Roger Maanning it was used as a conventicle See Fuller's Worthies p 197 and Stowe's Survey The place where the house stood is now Devonshire Square Bishopsgate The word *represent* means either to stand in the place of others, or to resemble them In the first sense the members they should pack would represent their constituents but in the latter sense only a meeting of enthusiastic sectaries

³ By these arts the leaders on the Parliament side defeated the purposes of the loyalists and carried such points in the House as they were bent upon Thus the Remonstrance was carried as Lord Clarendon says merely by the hour of the night the debates being continued till two o'clock and very many having withdrawn out of pure faintness and disability to attend the conclusion The bill against Episcopacy and other bills were carried by out fasting and out sitting those who opposed them which made Lord Falkland say that they who hated bishops hated them worse than the devil, and they who loved them, loved them not so well as their own dinners

Cut out more work than can be done
 In Plato's year,¹ but finish none,
 Unless it be the Bulls of Lenthall,
 That always pass'd for fundamental ° 910
 Can set up grandee against grandee,
 To squander time away, and bandy,
 Make lords and commoners lay sieges
 To one another's privileges,
 And, rather than compound the quarrel, 915
 Engage to th' inevitable peril
 Of both their runs, th' only scope
 And consolation of our hope
 Who, tho' we do not play the game,
 Assist as much by giving aim ³ 920
 Can introduce our ancient arts
 For heads of factions to act their parts,
 Know what a leading voice is worth,
 A seconding a third or fourth,
 How much a casting voice comes to 925
 That turns up trump of Ay or No,
 And by adjusting all at th' end,
 Share ev'ry one his dividend
 An art that so much study cost,
 And now's in danger to be lost, 930
 Unless our ancient virtuosos
 That found it out, get into th' houses ⁴
 These are the courses that we took
 To carry things by hook or crook ⁵

¹ The Platonic year or time required for a complete revolution of the entire machine of the world has by some been made to consist of 4000 common years others have thought it must extend to 26,000, or still more

² The ordinances published by the House of Commons were signed by Lenthall, the speaker and are therefore familiarly called the Bulls of Lenthall They were fundamental, because on them the new order in church and state was reared Afterwards, when the Parliament became the *Rump* the fundamentals acquired a new meaning

³ Or in the bowler's phrase by *giving ground*

⁴ The old members of the *Rump* were excluded from Cromwell's Parliaments When they presented themselves with Prynne at their head, they were met at the door by Colonel Pride and refused admittance

⁵ Crook and Hutton were the only judges who dissented from their brethren when the case of Ship money was argued in the Exchequer which

And practis d down from forty four, 930
 Until they turn d us out of door ¹
 Besides the herds of *boutefeus* °
 We set on work without the House
 When ev ry knight and citizen
 Kept legislative journeymen 940
 To bring them in intelligence
 From all points of the rabble s sense
 And fill the lobbies of both Houses
 With politic important buzzes ,
 Set up committees of cabals ³ 945
 To pack designs without the walls ,
 Examine and draw up all news,
 And fit it to our present use ,
 Agree upon the plot o th farce
 And ev ry one his part rehearse 950
 Make Q s of answers to way lay
 What th other parties like to say ⁴
 What repartees and smart reflections
 Shall be return d to all objections
 And who shall break the master jest 955
 And what and how upon the rest
 Help pamphlets out with safe editions,
 Of proper slanders and seditions,
 And treason for a token send,
 By Letter to a Country Friend , 960
 Disperse lampoons the only wit
 That men like burglary commit,
 With falsr than a padder s face,
 That all its owner does be'trays

occasioned the wags to say, punningly, that the king carried it by Hook but not by Crook

¹ From the time of the Self denying ordinance 1644 when the Presbyterians were turned out from all places of profit and power, till Pride s Purge on December 7 1648

² Incendiaries

³ The poet probably alludes to the ministers of Charles the Second, the initials of whose names were satirically so arranged as to make up the word cabal See note page 25

⁴ Prisoners in Newgate and other gaols have often sham examinations, to prepare them with answers for their real trials

Who therefore dares not trust it, when 960
 He's in his calling to be seen¹
 Disperse the dung on barren earth,
 To bring new weeds of discord forth,
 Be sure to keep up congregations
 In spite of laws and proclamations 970
 For charlatans can do no good²
 Until they're mounted in a crowd
 And when they're punished all the hurt
 Is but to fare the better for't
 As long as confessors are sure 975
 Of double pay for all they endure³
 And what they earn in persecution,
 Are paid to a groat in contribution
 Whence some tub holders forth have made
 In powdering tubs their richest trade, 980
 And while they kept their shops in prison,
 Have found their prices strangely risen⁴

Padders or highwaymen, usually covered their faces with a mask or piece of crape

² Charlatan is a quack doctor whom punishment makes more widely known and so benefits instead of injures

Alluding again to Burton Pynne and Bastwick who having been pilloried, fined, and banished to different parts of the kingdoms by the sentence of the Star chamber were by the Parliament afterward recalled and rewarded out of the estates of those who had punished them. In their way back to London they were honoured with loud acclamations and received many presents

——— silenced ministers
 That get estates by being undone
 For tender conscience and have none
 Like those that with their credit drive
 A trade without a stock and thrive

Butler's Remains vol. 1. 63

⁴ Powdering tubs which were tubs for salting beef in, may here signify either prisons or hospitals. The term *powdering* was a synonyme for *sprinkling* with salt, and so came to be applied to the places where infected persons were cured. When any one gets into a scrape he is said to be in a pretty pickle. Ancient Pistol throws some light upon this passage when he bids Nym

' to the spital go
 And from the *powdering tub* of infamy
 Fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid's kind
 Doll Tearsheet she by name and her espouse

Hen. V. Act 1.

Disdain to own the least regret
 For all the Christian blood we've let,
 'Twill save our credit and maintain 980
 Our title to do so again,
 That needs not cost one dram of sense,
 But pertinacious impudence
 Our constancy to our principles
 In time will wear out all things else 990
 Like marble statues rubb'd in pieces
 With gallantry of pilgrims' kisses ¹
 While those who turn and wind their oaths
 Have swell'd and sunk like other froths,
 Prevail'd a while but 'twas not long 995
 Before from world to world they swung
 As they had turn'd from side to side
 And as the changelings liv'd they dy'd
 This said, the impatient statesmonger
 Could now contain himself no longer ² 1000
 Who had not spar'd to show his piques
 Against the haranguer's politics
 With smart remarks of leering faces
 And annotations of grimaces
 After he'd minister'd a dose 1005
 Of snuff mundungus to his nose ³
 And powder'd the inside of his skull ⁴
 Instead of the outward jobbernot ⁵

Butler may mean that some of the tub holders forth kept houses of ill fame from whence the transit to the powdering tub was frequent. See also Measure for Measure Act III sc 2.

¹ Round the Casa Santa of Loretto the marble is worn into a deep channel by the knees and kisses of devout pilgrims. Many statues of saints are in like manner worn by the adoration of their votaries.

² As the former orator had harangued on the side of the Presbyterians his antagonist Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper now smartly inveighs against them and justifies the principles and conduct of the Independents.

³ Grey illustrates what he calls the beastly habit of snuff taking by a story from Chardin's Travels quoted by Montaigne Essay 22 which is that at *Bootan* in the East Indies the prince is held in such esteem and reverence that the courtiers collect his ordure in a linen cloth and after drying and preparing it not only use it as snuff but strew it over their meals as a great delicacy.

⁴ The early editions read "soul."

⁵ That is thick head, or blockhead. See Wright's Glossary.

He shook it with a scornful look,
 On th' adversary, and thus he spoke 1010
 In dressing a calf's head altho
 The tongue and brains together go,
 Both keep so great a distance here
 'Tis strange if ever they come near,
 For who did ever play his gambols 1015
 With such insufferable rambles,
 To make the bringing in the king,
 And keeping of him out one thing?
 Which none could do, but those that swore
 T'as point blank nonsense heretofore, 1020
 That to defend was to invade,
 And to assassinate to aid ¹
 Unless because you drove him out,
 And that was never made a doubt,
 No power is able to restore 1025
 And bring him in, but on your score
 A spiritual doctrine that conduces
 Most properly to all your uses
 'Tis true, a scorpion's oil is said
 To cure the wounds the vermin made ² 1030
 And weapons dress'd with salves, restore
 And heal the hurts they gave before ³
 But whether Presbyterians have
 So much good nature as the salve,
 Or virtue in them as the vermin, 1035
 Those who have tried them can determine
 Indeed 'tis pity you should miss
 The arrears of all your services,

¹ This alludes to Rolf a shoemaker, who was indicted for entertaining a design to kill the king when imprisoned in the Isle of Wight in evidence of which Osborne and Doucet swore positively. Serjeant Wild, who was sent to Winchester to try the case, and is said to have been bribed to get Rolf off gave an unfair charge to the jury by saying "There was a time indeed when intentions and words were made treason but God forbid it should be so now how did anybody know but that those two men, Osborne and Doucet (the evidence) would have made away with the king and that Rolf charged his pistol to preserve him. Clarendon vol iii p 180

² This is Pliny's statement Natural History xxix 29 Similar stories are extant respecting the fat of the viper

³ A sneer at Sir Kenelm Digby's doctrine of sympathy

And for th eternal obligation
 Y have laid upon th ungrateful nation, 1040
 Be us d s unconscionably hard,
 As not to find a just reward
 For letting rapine loose and murder
 To rage just so far, but no further ¹
 And setting all the land on fire 1045
 To burn t a scantling but no higher ²
 For vent ring to assassinate,
 And cut the throats of church and state
 And not b allow d the fittest men
 To take the charge of both agen 1050
 Especially that have the Grace
 Of Self denying Gifted face
 Who when your projects have miscarry d,
 Can lay them, with undaunted forehead
 On those you painfully ³ trepann d 1055
 And sprinkled in at second hand ⁴
 As we have been to share the guilt
 Of Christian blood devoutly spilt, ⁵
 For so our ignorance was flamm d
 To damnt ourselves t avoid being damn d, ⁶ 1060
 Till finding your old foe the hangman
 Was like to lurch you at backgammon ⁷

¹ Though the Presbyterians began the war yet they pretended they had no thoughts of occasioning the bloodshed and devastation which were consequent upon it. They intended to bring the king to reason not to murder him. It happened to them however as to the would be conjurer who by certain words he had overheard sent a broomstick to fetch water but not recollecting the words to make it stop it went and fetched water without ceasing till it filled the house, and drowned him.

² Grey compares this to the joke of two countrymen who having bought a barn in partnership one threatened to set his own half on fire.

³ Meaning with pains laboriously. Walker says that by an impudent fallacy called *Translatio Criminis*, the Independents laid their brats at other men's doors.

⁴ Baptizing members into their churches in opposition to the practice of the Anabaptists.

⁵ The war was begun and carried on by the Presbyterians in the name of religion and in defence of the gospel.

⁶ Meaning to commit robbery rebellion, and murder with a view of keeping out Arminianism, Popery &c.

⁷ That is, finding the king was likely to get the better of you and that we were all in danger of being hanged as traitors we took the war out of your hands into our own management.

And win your necks upon the set,
 As well as ours, who did but bet,
 For he had drawn your ears before, 1065
 And nick'd em on the self same score,
 We threw the box and dice away,
 Before you d lost us at foul play
 And brought you down to rook and lie,
 And fancy only on the by,¹ 1070
 Redeem d your forfeit jobbernoles,²
 From perching upon lofty poles
 And rescu d all your outward traitors,
 From hanging up, like alligators³
 For which ingeniously ye 've show d 1075
 Your Presbyterian gratitude,
 Would freely ve paid us home in kind,
 And not have been one rope behind⁴
 Those were your motives to divide,
 And scruple, on the other side,⁵ 1080
 To turn your zealous frauds and force,
 To fits of conscience and remorse,
 To be convinc d they were in vain
 And face about for new again,
 For truth no more unveil d your eyes, 1085
 Than maggots are convinc d to flies⁶

¹ By bets are bets made by spectators of a game, or standers by the Presbyterians, from being principals in the cause were reduced to a secondary position and from being principal players of the game, became mere lookers on

² The heads of traitors were set up on poles at Temple bar or London Bridge

³ Alligators were frequently hung up in the shops of druggists and apothecaries

⁴ The Dissenters, when in power, were no enemies to persecution and showed themselves as hearty persecutors as ever the Church had been. They maintained that 'A toleration of different ways of churches and church government will be to this kingdom very mischievous, pernicious, and destructive and Calamy, being asked what he would do with those who differed from him in opinion, said, 'He would not meddle with their consciences but only with their persons and estates

⁵ He tells the Presbyterians that their jealousy of the Independents caused their treachery to them not any scruple of conscience

⁶ The change was produced in them merely by the course of their nature. The edition of 1710 reads

Than maggots when they turn to flies

And therefore all your Lights and Calls
 Are but apocryphal and false
 To charge us with the consequences
 Of all your native insolences, 1090
 That to your own imperious wills
 Laid Law and Gospel neck and heels
 Corrupted the Old Testament
 To serve the New for precedent
 T amend its errors and defects 1095
 With murder and rebellion texts ¹
 Of which there is not any one
 In all the book to sow upon
 And therefore from your tribe, the Jews
 Held Christian doctrine forth and use 1100
 As Mahomet your chief began
 To mix them in the Alcoran ²

¹ The Presbyterians he says finding no countenance for their purposes in the New Testament took their measures of obedience from some instances of rebellion in the Old Among the corrupted texts to which Butler alludes is probably that printed at Cambridge by Buck and Daniel in 1638 where Acts vi 3 reads *ye* instead of *we* may appoint over this business a corruption attributed by some to the Independents by others to the Presbyterians But several of the Bibles printed either during or immediately preceding the Commonwealth contain gross blunders In the so called *Wicked Bible* printed by Bates and Lucas 1632, the seventh commandment is printed Thou *shalt* commit adultery In another Bible printed in the Reign of Charles I and immediately suppressed Psalm xiv reads 'The fool hath said in his heart *there is a God* One printed during the Commonwealth (1653) by Field reads at Rom vi 13

Neither yield ye your members as instruments of *righteousness* unto sin and at 1 Cor vi 9 Know ye not that the unrighteous *shall inherit* the kingdom of God Many other Bibles some of much later date present typographical errors the most remarkable of which is perhaps that printed at Belfast, by James Blood 1716 (the first Bible printed in Ireland), which at John viii 11 reads *sin on more*, instead of 'sin no more

² In his Pindaric Ode upon an hypocritical nonconformist Remains vol 1 p 135, Mr Butler says

For the Turks patriarch Mahomet
 Was the first great reformer and the chief
 Of th ancient Christian belief
 That mix d it with new light and cheat,
 With revelations dreams and visions
 And apostolic superstitions
 To be held forth and carry d on by war
 And his successor was a presbyter

Denounc d and pray d with fierce devotion,
 And bended elbows on the cushion ,
 Stole from the beggars all your tones, 1105
 And gifted mortifying groans ,
 Had lights where better eyes were blind,
 As pigs are said to see the wind ,¹
 Fill d Bedlam with Predestination,
 And Knightsbridge with Illumination ,² 1110
 Made children with your tones, to run for t,
 As bad as Bloodybones or Lunsford³
 While women great with child miscarry'd,
 For being to Malignants marry d
 Transform d all wives to Dahlahs, 1115
 Whose husbands were not for the Cause ,⁴
 And turn d the men to ten horn d cattle,
 Because they came not out to battle ,⁵
 Made tailors prentices turn heroes
 For fear of b ing transform d to Meroz,⁶ 1120

¹ Pigs are said to be very sagacious in foretelling wind and weather
 Thus, in a poem entitled Hudibras at Court, we read

And now as hogs can see the wind
 And 'oims at distance coming find

At this village, near London, was a lazar house, to which the poet alludes

³ That is frightened children as much by your preaching as if you had threatened them with Rawhead and Bloodybones Sir Thomas Lunsford who was represented by his enemies as devouring children out of mere blood thirstiness was lieutenant of the Tower a little before the beginning of the war but afterwards removed by desire of the Parliament He is represented by Lord Clarendon as a man of desperate character and dissolute habits

⁴ If the husband sided not with the Presbyterians his wife was represented as insidious and a betrayer of her country's interests, such as Dahilah was to Samson and the Israelites Judges xvi

⁵ Compared them to the ten horns or ten kings who gave their power and strength to the beast Revelation xvii 12 See also Daniel vii 7 A cuckold is called a horned beast and a notorious cuckold may be called a ten horned beast, there being no beast described with more horns than the beast in vision

⁶ "Curse ye Meroz said the angel of the Lord curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof because they came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty Judges v 23 This was a favourite text with those who preached for the Parliament and it assisted them much in raising recruits

And rather forfeit their indentures,
 Than not espouse the saints adventures
 Could transubstantiate, metamorphose
 And charm whole herds of beasts like Orpheus
 Enchant the kings and churchs lands 1125
 To obey and follow your commands
 And settle on a new freehold
 As Marcleys hill had done of old ¹
 Could turn the Covenant and translate
 The Gospel into spoons and plate 1130
 Expound upon all merchants cashes
 And open the Intricatest places,
 Could catechise a money box
 And prove all pouches orthodox
 Untill the Cause became a Damon 1135
 And Pythias the wicked Mammon ²
 And yet in spite of all your charms
 To conjure Legion up in arms
 And raise more devils in the rout
 Than e'er ye were able to cast out 1140
 Ye have been reduced, and by those fools
 Bred up you say in your own schools
 Who though but gifted at your feet ³
 Have made it plain they have more wit,
 By whom you've been so oft trepanned 1145
 And held forth out of all command
 Out gifted, out impuls'd out done
 And out reveal'd at Carryings on
 Of all your Dispensations worm'd
 Out providenc'd and out reform'd 1150
 Ejected out of church and state
 And all things but the people's hate,

¹ Not far from Ledbury in Herefordshire towards the conflux of the Lug and Wye in the parish of Marcleys, is a hill which in the year 1575 moved to a considerable distance Camden in his Life of Queen Elizabeth book ii p 20 thinks the motion was occasioned by an earthquake which he calls brasmata though the cause of it more probably was a subterraneous current, as the motion continued for three days Some houses and a chapel were overturned

² Until Mammon and the Cause were as closely united and as dear friends as Damon and Pythias the story of whose well known friendship is celebrated by Plutarch, Valerius Maximus and others

³ Acts xxii 3

And spirited out of th enjoyments
 Of precious edifying employments,
 By those who lodg'd their Gifts and Graces, 1155
 Like better bowlers in your places ¹
 All which you bore with resolution
 Charg'd on th account of persecution,
 And tho' most righteously oppress'd,
 Against your wills still acquiesc'd 1160
 And never humm'd and hah'd sedition,²
 Nor snuffled treason nor misprision
 That is because you never durst
 For had you preach'd and pray'd your worst,
 Alas! you were no longer able 1165
 To raise your posse of the rabble
 One single red coat sentinel³
 Outcharm'd the magic of the spell
 And with his squirt fire⁴ could disperse
 Whole troops with chapter rais'd and verse 1170
 We knew too well those tricks of yours
 To leave it ever in your pow'rs
 Or trust our safeties or undoings,
 To your disposing of outgoings
 Or to your ordering Providence 1175
 One farthing's worth of consequence
 For had you pow'r to undermine
 Or wit to carry a design
 Or correspondence to trepan,
 Inveigle or betray one man 1180
 There's nothing else that intervenes
 And bars your zeal to use the means
 And therefore wond'rous like no doubt,
 To bring in kings or keep them out

¹ The preceding lines described precisely the relation of the Independents to the Presbyterians during the Commonwealth

² Hums and hahs were the ordinary expressions of approbation uttered by hearers of sermons. And the 'snuffle' was then and long afterwards 'the nasal drawl' heard in conventicles. Sir Roger L'Estrange distinguishes between the religion of the head and that of the nose. *Apology* p. 40

³ The "red coat" is thus specially mentioned because it was now, for the first time made the soldier's peculiar dress, and the Independents formed the majority of the soldiery

⁴ That is, his musket

Brave undertakers to Restore, 1185
 That could not keep yourselves in pow'r,
 To advance the int'rests of the crown,
 That wanted wit to keep your own
 'Tis true you have for I'd be loth
 To wrong ye done your parts in both 1190
 To keep him out and bring him in
 As grace is introduc'd by sin ¹
 For 'twas your zealous want of sense
 And sanctify'd impertinence
 Your carrying business in a huddle 1195
 That forc'd our rulers to New model
 Oblig'd the state to tack about
 And turn you root and branch all out
 To reformado one and all
 T' your great croysado general ² 1200
 Your greedy slav'ring to devour
 Before 'twas in your clutches pow'r
 That sprung the game you were to set
 Before ye d time to draw the net
 Your spite to see the church's lands 1205
 Divided into other hands

¹ Thus Saint Paul to the Romans Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?

² Called croysado general because the Parliament pretended to engage in the war chiefly on account of religion a term derived from the holy war against the Turks and Saracens which obtained the name of Crusade or Croisado from the cross displayed on the banners The Independents finding that the Presbyterians who held the principal places both in Parliament and in the army instead of aiming at what had been proposed in the Covenant were solely intent upon securing for themselves the position and authority of the Church of England and that the Lord General Essex was plainly afraid of beating the king too well proposed and carried the *Self-denying Ordinance* by which all members of Parliament (except Fairfax and Cromwell) were prohibited from holding commissions in the army and seats in the legislature at the same time Essex being an hereditary legislator, was forced to resign his command the others had to choose between the Parliament and the army and most of the Presbyterian leaders chose to retain their seats in the House thinking so to keep the control of the army in their hands But by the new modelling of the army, instead of the ruff raff which had been pressed into the service at first it was made to consist almost wholly of men who had (as Cromwell said) 'a mind to the work small householders and yeomen, whom the Parliament found, too late it could not control

³ That is, letting your mouths water

And all your sacrilegious ventures
 Laid out on tickets and debentures
 Your envy to be sprinkled down,
 By under churches in the town,¹ 1210
 And no course us'd to stop their mouths,
 Nor th Independents spreading growths
 All which consider d 'tas most true
 None bring him in so much as you
 Who have prevail'd beyond their plots,² 1215
 Their midnight juntos and seal'd knots,
 That thrive more by your zealous piques,
 Than all their own rash politics
 And this way you may claim a share
 In carrying, as you brag th' affair, 1220
 Else frogs and toads that croak'd the Jews
 From Pharaoh and his brick kilns loose,
 And flies and mange, that set them free
 From task masters and slavery,
 Were likelier to do the feat 1225
 In any indifferent man's conceit
 For who e'er heard of Restoration,
 Until your Thorough Reformation?³
 That is the king's and church's lands
 Were sequester'd into other hands 1230
 For only then and not before
 Your eyes were open'd to restore,
 And when the work was carrying on
 Who cross'd it, but yourselves alone?
 As by a world of hints appears, 1235
 All plain, and extant as your ears⁴
 But first o'th first The Isle of Wight
 Will rise up if you shou'd deny't,

¹ By the Independents, whose popularity was much greater with the people than that of the Presbyterians

² The plots of the royalists are here meant

³ The Independent here charges the Presbyterians with having no design of restoring the king notwithstanding the merit they made of such intentions after the Restoration until they were turned out of all profit by sale of the crown and church lands and that it was not their loyalty, but their disappointment and resentment against the Independents that made them think of treating with the king

⁴ In ridicule of the Presbyterians, many of whom, according to Dryden and others, had lost their ears in the pillory

Where Henderson and th other masses,¹
 Were sent to cap texts and put cases 1240
 To pass for deep and learned scholars
 Altho but paltry Ob and Sollers ²
 As if th unseasonable fools
 Had been a coursing in the schools ³
 Until they 'd prov'd the devil author 1245
 O th Covenant and the Cause his daughter,
 For when they charg'd him with the guilt
 Of all the blood that had been spilt
 They did not mean he wrought th effusion
 In person, like Sir Pride or Hughson ⁴ 1250
 But only those who first begun
 The quarrel were by him set on
 And who could those be but the saints,
 Those reformation termagants?
 But ere this pass'd the wise debate 1255
 Spent so much time it grew too late, ⁵

¹ That is, the other divines. Ministers in those days were called masters, as they are at the 854th line of this canto. One of this order would have been styled, not the reverend but master or master doctor such an one, and sometimes, for brevity's sake and familiarly, mas the plural of which our poet makes masses. See Ben Jonson and Spectator, No 147. Butler is here guilty of anachronism for the treaty at the Isle of Wight was two years after the death of Henderson. The divines employed there were Marshal, Vines, Caryl, Seaman, Jenkyns, and Shurston. Henderson was present at the Uxbridge treaty, and disputed with the king at Newcastle when he was in the Scottish army soon after which he died as some said of grief because he could not convince the king but as others said, of remorse, for having opposed him.

² That is although only contemptible dabblers in school logic. So in Burton's Melancholy 'A pack of Obs and Sollers'. The polemic divines of that age and stamp filled the margins both of their tracts and sermons with the words Ob and Sol the one standing for objection the other for solution.

³ *Coursing* is a term used in the university of Oxford for some exercises preparatory to a master's degree.

⁴ Pride was said to have been a drayman and to have been knighted by Cromwell with a stick, whence in derision he is called Sir Pride. Hughson or Hewson was at first a shoemaker or a cobbler but afterwards one of Oliver's Upper House.

⁵ The negotiation at the Isle of Wight was protracted in order to give Cromwell time to return from Scotland, by which artifice the settlement of the kingdom was effectually frustrated.

For Oliver had gotten ground,
 T' enclose him with his warriors round,
 Had brought his providence about,
 And turn'd th' untimely¹ sophists out 1260
 Nor had the Uxbridge business less
 Of nonsense in't, or sottishness
 When from a scoundrel holder forth,
 The scum, as well as son o' th' earth,
 Your mighty senators took law, 1265
 At his command were forc'd to withdraw,
 And sacrifice the peace o' th' nation
 To doctrine, use and application
 So when the Scots, your constant cronies,
 Th' espousers of your cause and monies,² 1270
 Who had so often in your aid,
 So many ways been soundly paid,
 Came in at last for better ends,
 To prove themselves your trusty friends,
 You basely left them and the church 1275
 They'd train'd you up to in the lurch,
 And suffer'd your own tribe of Christians
 To fall before as true Philistines⁴
 This shows what utensils you've been,
 To bring the king's concerns in 1280
 Which is so far from being true
 That none but he can bring in you,

¹ Untimely here means unseasonable

² Christopher Love a violent Presbyterian, who preached a sermon at Uxbridge during the treaty held there introducing many reflections upon his Majesty's person and government, and stirring up the people against the king's commissioners. He was afterwards executed (in 1651) for treason, by means of Cromwell and the Independents

³ The Scots in their first expedition 1640 had £300,000 given them for brotherly assistance, besides a contribution of £850 a day from the northern counties. In their second expedition 1643 besides much free quarter they had £19,700 monthly and received £72,972 in one year by customs on coals. The Parliament agreed to give them £400,000 on the surrender of the king — Dugdale

⁴ The Scots made a third expedition into England for the rescue of the king, in 1648, under the Duke of Hamilton. They entered a fourth time under Charles II., expecting the Presbyterians, their own brethren, to support them. But the latter joined Cromwell and the Independents thus occasioning the portion of the true church to fall before the Independent army whom they reckoned no better than Philistines

And if he take you into trust
 Will find you most exactly just,
 Such as will punctually repay 1285
 With double int rest and betray
 Not that I think those pantomimes,
 Who vary action with the times
 Are less ingenious in their art
 Than those who dully act one part 1290
 Or those who turn from side to side,
 More guilty than the wind and tide
 All countries are a wise man s home
 And so are governments to some
 Who change them for the same intrigues 1295
 That statesmen use in breaking leagues
 While others in old faiths and troths
 Look odd as out of fashion d clothes
 And nastier in an old opinion
 Than those who never shift their linen 1300
 For true and faithful s sure to lose,
 Which way soever the game goes,
 And whether parties lose or win
 Is always nick d or else hedg d in ¹
 While pow r usurp d like stol n delight 1305
 Is more bewitching than the right
 And when the times begin to alter
 None rise so high as from the halter
 And so we may, if we ve but sense
 To use the necessary means, 1310
 And not your usual stratagems
 On one another lights and dreams
 To stand on terms as positive
 As if we did not take but give
 Set up the Covenant on crutches 1315
 Gainst those who have us in their clutches,
 And dream of pulling churches down,
 Before we re sure to prop our own
 Your constant method of proceeding,
 Without the carnal means of heeding, 1320

¹ *Nick* is a winning throw *Hedge* is to protect by a counteracting bet
 or set off a familiar betting term on the turf

Who, 'twixt your inward sense and outward,
 Are worse, than if ye d none accoutred
 I grant all courses are in vain,
 Unless we can get in again,¹
 The only way that s left us now 1320
 But all the difficulty s how?
 'Tis true we 've money, th only power
 That all mankind falls down before,
 Money that, like the swords of kings,
 Is the last reason of all things,² 1330
 And therefore need not doubt our play
 Has all advantages that way,
 As long as men have faith to sell,
 And meet with those that can pay well,
 Whose half starv d pride and avarice, 1335
 One church and state will not suffice
 T expose to sale,³ besides the wages⁴
 Of storing plagues to after ages
 Nor is our money less our own
 Than twas before we laid it down 1340
 For twill return and turn t account,
 If we are brought in play upon t,
 Or but by casting knaves, get in
 What pow r can hinder us to win?
 We know the arts we us d before, 1345
 In peace and war, and something more

¹ When General Monk restored the excluded members the Rump, perceiving they could not carry things their own way, and rule as they had done quitted the House

² Diodorus Siculus relates that when the height of the walls of Amphipolis was pointed out to Philip as rendering the town impregnable, he observed they were not so high but that money could be thrown over them Addison (in Spectator 239) says "ready money is a way of reasoning which seldom fails"

³ There is a list of above a hundred of the principal actors in this rebellion among whom the plunder of the church, crown, and kingdom was divided to some five ten, and even twenty thousand pounds to others, lands and offices of hundreds or thousands a year At the end of the list, the author says it was computed that they had shared among themselves near twenty millions

⁴ They allowed by their own order four pounds a week to each member of Parliament members of the assembly of divines were each allowed four shillings a day

And by th' unfortunate events,
 Can mend our next experiments
 For when we re taken into trust,
 How easy are the wisest chous d 1350
 Who see but th' outsides of our feats,
 And not their secret springs and weights
 And while they re busy at their ease,
 Can carry what designs we please ?
 How easy is 't to serve for Agents 1355
 To prosecute our old Engagements ?
 To keep the Good Old Cause on foot
 And present pow'r from taking root ¹
 In flame them both with false alarms
 Of plots, and parties taking arms 1360
 To keep the nation's wounds too wide
 From healing up of side to side
 Profess the passionat st Concerns
 For both their interests by turns
 The only way t' improve our own, 1365
 By dealing faithfully with none
 As bowls run true, by being made
 On ² purpose false, and to be sway'd,
 For if we should be true to either
 'Twould turn us out of both together, 1370
 And therefore have no other means
 To stand upon our own defence
 But keeping up our ancient party
 In vigour confident and hearty
 To reconcile our late dissenters 1375
 Our brethren, though by other venters
 Unite them and their different maggots,
 As long and short sticks are in faggots ³
 And make them join again as close,
 As when they first began t' espouse, 1380

¹ General Monk and his party, or the Committee of Safety for we must understand the scene to be laid at the time when Monk bore the sway or as will appear by and by at the roasting of the rumps, when Monk and the city of London united against the Rump Parliament

² All the early editions have "of purpose"

³ See *Æsop's Fables* 171. Swift told this fable after the ancients, with exquisite humour to reconcile Queen Anne's ministers

Erect them into separate
 New Jewish tribes in church and state ¹
 To join in marriage and commerce,²
 And only mong themselves converse, 1385
 Make enemies to all mankind ³
 Take all religions in and stickle
 From conclave down to conventicle,⁴
 Agreeing still or disagreeing
 According to the light in being, 1390
 Sometimes for liberty of conscience,
 And spiritual misrule in one sense,
 But in another quite contrary
 As dispensations chance to vary,
 And stand for, as the times will bear it, 1395
 All contradictions of the spirit
 Protect their emissar, empower'd
 To preach sedition and the word,
 And when they're hamper'd by the laws,
 Release the lab'ers for the cause, 1400
 And turn the persecution back
 On those that made the first attack,
 To keep them equally in awe
 From breaking or maintaining law
 And when they have their fits too soon, 1405
 Before the full tides of the moon
 Put off their zeal to a fitter season
 For sowing faction in and treason,
 And keep them hooded and their churches,
 Like hawks from bating on their perches,⁵ 1410
 That when the blessed time shall come
 Of quitting Babylon and Rome,

¹ The Jews were not allowed to intermarry or mix familiarly with the nations around them

² The accent is here laid upon the last syllable of commerce

³ This was the title given by the Jacobins of France to our William Pitt, whom they suspected of traversing their revolutionary schemes

⁴ That is, from the conclave of cardinals or papists down to the meeting house of nonconformists

⁵ From being too forward or ready to take flight

They may be ready to restore
 Their own Fifth Monarchy once more ¹
 Meanwhile be better arm'd to fence 1415
 Against Revolts of Providence ²
 By watching narrowly, and snapping
 All blind sides of it as they happen
 For if success could make us saints,
 Our ruin turn'd us miscreants ³ 1420
 A scandal that would fall too hard
 Upon a Few and unprepar'd
 These are the courses we must run
 Spite of our hearts or be undone
 And not to stand on terms and freaks 1425
 Before we have secur'd our necks
 But do our work as out of sight,
 As stars by day and suns by night,
 All licence of the people own,
 In opposition to the crown, 1430
 And for the crown as fiercely side,
 The head and body to divide
 The end of all we first design'd,
 And all that yet remains behind,
 Be sure to spare no public rapine, 1435
 On all emergencies that happen,
 For 'tis as easy to supplant
 Authority as men in want
 As some of us in trusts have made
 The one hand with the other trade, 1440

¹ In addition to the four great monarchies which have appeared in the world, some of the enthusiasts thought that Christ was to reign temporarily upon earth and to establish a fifth monarchy. See Butler's Character of a Fifth Monarchy man. The Book of Daniel speaks of four great earthly monarchies, and of one other not earthly to succeed them: hence the name

Fifth Monarchy. The Oxford divines have in recent days adopted this classification. Dr Lightfoot took a different view of the fifth monarchy and declares in his sermon preached Nov. 5th 1669 that it means the kingdom of the devil.

² The sectaries of those days talked more familiarly to Almighty God than they dared to do to a superior officer: they remonstrated with him, made him author of all their wicked machinations, and if their projects failed they said that Providence had revolted from them. See note at page 66.

³ Turn'd here signifies 'would turn'.

Gain d vastly by their joint endeavour
 The right a thief, the left receiver,
 And what the one, by tricks, forestall d,
 The other by as sly retail d
 For gain has wonderful effects 1415
 T improve the factory of sects,
 The Rule of Faith in all professions,
 And great Diana of th Ephesians ¹
 Whence turning of religion s made
 The means to turn and wind a trade 1420
 And though some change it for the worse
 They put themselves into a course,
 And draw in store of customers,
 To thrive the better in commerce
 For all religions flock together, 1425
 Like tame and wild fowl of a feather
 To nab the itches of their sects,
 As jades do one another s necks
 Hence tis hypocrisy as well
 Will serve t improve a church as zeal, 1430
 As persecution or promotion
 Do equally advance devotion
 Let bus ness like ill watches go
 Sometime too fast sometime too slow
 For things in order are put out 1435
 So easy ease itself will do 't
 But when the feat s design d and meant,
 What miracle can bar th event?
 For tis more easy to betray,
 Than run any other way 1440
 All possible occasions start
 The weightiest matters to divert,
 Obstruct, perplex, distract, entangle,
 And lay perpetual trains to wrangle ²
 But in affairs of less import, 1445
 That neither do us good nor hurt,
 And they receive as little by,
 Out fawn as much, and out comply,
 |

¹ Acts xix 28

² Exactly the advice given in Aristophanes, *Equites*, v 214

And seem as scrupulously just,
 To bait our hooks for greater trust 1480
 But still be careful to cry down
 All public actions tho' our own
 The least miscarriage aggravate
 And charge it all upon the state
 Express the horrid st detestation, 1485
 And pity the distracted nation
 Tell stories scandalous and false,
 I th' proper language of cabals
 Where all a subtle statesman says,
 Is half in words and half in face 1490
 As Spaniards talk in dialogues
 Of heads and shoulders nods and shrugs
 Entrust it under solemn vows
 Of mum and silence and the rose ¹
 To be retail'd again in whispers 1495
 For th' easy credulous to disperse
 Thus far the statesman—When a shout
 Heard at a distance, put him out,
 And strait another all aghast
 Rush'd in with equal fear and haste 1500
 Who star'd about as pale as death
 And, for a while as out of breath,
 Till having gather'd up his wits
 He thus began his tale by fits ²
 That beastly rabble—that came down 1505
 From all the garrets—in the town
 And stalls, and shop-boards—in vast swarms,
 With new chalk'd bills—and rusty arms

¹ When anything was said in confidence the speaker in conclusion generally used the word *mum* or silence. *Mum*, in the first sense means mask whence in its secondary meaning comes secrecy or concealment. *Sub rosa* (under the rose) had the same meaning whence in rooms designed for convivial meetings it was customary to place a rose above the table to signify that anything there spoken ought never to be divulged. A rose was frequently painted on ceilings both in England and Germany. See Brand's *Antiquities* (Bohn's Edit.) vol. ii p. 345 *et seq*.

² This was Sir Martin Noel who while the Cabal was sitting brought the unpalatable news that the Rump Parliament was dismissed, the secluded members admitted into the House by Monk and that the mob of London testified their approval of the measure by burning the Rump in effigy.

To cry the Cause—up, heretofore,
 And bawl the bishops—out of door 1510
 Are now drawn up—in greater shoals,
 To roast—and broil us on the coals,
 And all the grandees—of our members
 Are carbonading—on the embers,
 Knights, citizens, and burgesses— 1515
 Held forth by Rumps—of pigs and geese,
 That serve for characters—and badges
 To represent their personages
 Each bonfire is a funeral pile,
 In which they roast and scorch, and broil, 1520
 And ev ry representative
 Have vow d to roast—and broil alive
 And 'tis a miracle we are not
 Already sacrific d incarnate
 For while we wrangle here, and jar, 1525
 We re grill'd all at Temple Bar
 Some on the sign post of an ale house,
 Hang in effigy on the gallows,
 Made up of rags to personate
 Respective officers of state, 1530
 That henceforth, they may stand reputed,
 Proscrib d in law, and executed,
 And, while the work is carrying on,
 Be ready list'd under Dun,
 That worthy patriot once the bellows, 1535
 And tinder box of all his fellows ¹

¹ Dun was at that time the common hangman and succeeding executioners went by his name till eclipsed by Jack Ketch. But the character here delineated was certainly intended for Sir Arthur Hazlerig knight of the shire in the Long Parliament for the county of Leicester and one of the five members of the House of Commons whom the king attempted to seize in the House. He brought in the bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford and the bill against Episcopacy though the latter was delivered by Sir Edward Deering at his procurement. He also brought in the bill for the Militia. He was one of the Rump and a little before this time when the Committee of Safety had been set up and the Rump excluded he had seized Portsmouth for their use. It is probable that Butler might call Sir Arthur by the hangman's name for his forwardness and zeal in Parliament in bringing the royalists and the king himself to execution. Before Monk's intentions were known Hazlerig in a conversation with him said, "I see which way things are going, monarchy will be restored, and then I know

The activ'st member of the five,
 As well as the most primitive
 Who for his faithful service then
 Is chosen for a fifth agen 1543
 For since the state has made a quint
 Of generals he s listed in t ¹
 This worthy, as the world will say,
 Is paid in specie, his own way ,
 For, moulded to the life in clouts, 1546
 They ve pick d from dunghills hereabouts,
 He s mounted on a hazel bavin ²
 A cropp d malignant baker gave em ³
 And to the largest bonfire riding
 They ve roasted Cook already ⁴ and Pride in ⁵ 1550
 On whom in equipage and state
 His scare crow fellow members wait,
 And march in order two and two,
 As at thanksgivings th us d to do ,
 Each in a tatter d talisman, 1555
 Like vermin in effigy slain
 But what s more dreadful than the rest,
 Those Rumps are but the Tail o th beast

what will become of me "Pooh!" replied Monk I will secure you for two pence In no long time after when the secret was out Hazlerig sent Monk a letter with two pence enclosed See *Clarendon's State Papers* vol iii Sir Arthur enlisted many soldiers, and had a regiment called his Lobsters

¹ *Quint*, that is a quorum of five After the death of Cromwell and the deposition of Richard the government of the army was put into the hands of seven commissioners of whom Hazlerig was one And in 1659 Monk Hazlerig Walton, Morley, and Alured were appointed commissioners to govern the army

² A hazel faggot, such as bakers heat their ovens with a joke on the name Hazlerig

³ Pillory and cropping the ears was a punishment inflicted on bakers who made bad bread or gave short weight Malignants was the name applied to the royalists

⁴ Cook was solicitor at the king's trial and drew up the charges against him Clarendon allows him to have been a man of abilities His defence at his own trial was bold and manly claiming exemption from responsibility on professional grounds stating that he had merely acted as a lawyer taken a fee and pleaded from a brief He was hanged at Tyburn Pride and his Purge have been spoken of before

⁵ In the early editions, "Pride in

Set up by popish engineers,
 As by the crackers plainly appears , 1560
 For none but Jesuits have a mission
 To preach the faith with ammunition,
 And propagate the church with powder ,
 Their founder was a blown up soldier ¹
 Those spiritual pioneers o th whose s, 1560
 That have the charge of all her stores
 Since first they fail d in their designs ²
 To take in heav n by springing mines,
 And, with unanswerable barrels
 Of gunpowder, dispute their quarrels, 1570
 Now take a course more practicable,
 By laying trains to fire the rabble
 And blow us up, in th open streets,
 Disguis d in Rumps like Sambenites,³
 More like to run and confound, 1570
 Than all their doctrines under ground
 Nor have they chosen Rumps amiss,⁴
 For symbols of state mysteries ,
 Tho some suppose, twas but to show
 How much they scorn d the saints the Few, 1580
 Who, cause they re wasted to the stumps,
 Are represented best by Rumps ⁵
 But Jesuits have deeper reaches
 In all their politic far fetches
 And from the Coptic priest Kircherus ⁶ 1580
 Found out this mystic way to jeer us ⁷

¹ Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesuits was bred a soldier and wounded at the siege of Pampeluna by the French, in 1521 See note on line 606, above

² Alluding to the Gunpowder Plot, attributed to the Jesuits the defeat of which is celebrated on Nov 5, to this day but the prayers and thanks giving have just been abolished, and expunged from the liturgy, by Royal ordinance

³ Persons wearing the *sambenito* a straight yellow coat without sleeves, having the picture of the devil painted upon it in black, wherein the officers of the Inquisition used to disguise and parade heretics after their condemnation

⁴ See A speech made at the Rota Remains, vol 1 page 320

⁵ They were called the Rump Parliament, as being the end of a body

⁶ The early editions spell this name thus Kirkerus

⁷ Athanasius Kircher, a Jesuit wrote many books on the antiquities ,⁸

For, as the Egyptians us'd by bees
 To express their antique Ptolemies
 And by their stings the swords they wore,¹
 Held forth authority and power,
 Because these subtle animals
 Bear all their interests in their tails
 And when they're once impair'd in that,
 Are banish'd their well-order'd state
 They thought all governments were best
 By hieroglyphic Rumps exprest
 For as in bodies natural,
 The Rump's the fundament of all,
 So in a commonwealth or realm
 The government is called the helm,
 With which like vessels under sail,
 They're turn'd and winded by the tail
 The tail, which birds and fishes steer
 Their courses with, thro' sea and air,
 To whom the rudder of the rump is
 The same thing with the stern and compass,
 This shows, how perfectly the rump
 And commonwealth in nature jump
 For as a fly that goes to bed
 Rests with his tail above his head,²
 So, in this mongrel state of ours,
 The rabble are the supreme powers,
 That hors'd us on their backs, to show us
 A jadish trick at last, and throw us
 The learned Rabbins of the Jews
 Write, there's a bone, which they call luez³

Egypt one of them is called *Edipus Egyptiacus* for which he says he studied the Egyptian mysteries twenty years. The Copts were the primitive Christians of Egypt

¹ The Egyptians anciently represented their kings under the emblem of a bee, which has the power of dispensing benefits and inflicting punishments by its honey and its sting though the poet dwells most on the energy which it bears in its tail so the citizens of London significantly represented this flag end of a Parliament by the rumps, or tail parts of sheep and other animals. Some late editions read, ancient Ptolemies. See Butler's Remarks "A speech in the Rota"

² Alluding to the position flies take up, on walls

³ Eben Ezra and Manasseh Ben Israel taught that there is a bone in the rump of a man (that is, in the lower end of the back bone) of the size

I' th' rump of man, of such a virtue,
 No force in nature can do hurt to,
 And therefore, at the last great day,
 All th' other members shall, they say, 1620
 Spring out of this, as from a seed
 All sorts of vegetals proceed,
 From whence the learned sons of art
Os sacrum justly style that part ¹
 Then what can better represent, 1625
 Than this rump bone the Parliament?
 That after several rude ejections,
 And as prodigious resurrections,
 With new reversions of nine lives
 Starts up, and like a cat, revives? ² 1630

and shape of half a pea from which as from an incorruptible seed the whole man would be perfectly formed at the resurrection Remains vol 1 p 320 The rabbins found their wild conjectures on Genesis xlviii 2, 3 See Agrippa de occulta philosophia, l i c 20 Buxtorf, in his Chaldean Dictionary under the word Luz, says, it is the name of a human bone, which the Jews look upon as incorruptible In a book called Bre shith Rabboth sect 28 it is asserted that Adrian reducing the bones to powder, asked the rabbin Jehoshuang (Jesuah the son of Hanniah) how God would raise man at the day of judgment from the Luz, replied the rabbin how do you know it? says Adrian bring me one and you shall see, says Jehoshuang one was produced and all methods by fire pounding, and other methods tried, but in vain See Manasseh Ben Israel de Resurrectione, lib ii cap 15 See also Butler's Remains, 'Speech in the Rota

¹ The lowest of the vertebræ or rather the bone below the vertebræ, is so called not for the reason wittily assigned by our poet, but because it is much bigger than any of the vertebræ

² The Rump properly so called, began at Pride's Purge a little before the king's death and had the supreme authority for about five years being turned out on April 23 1653 by Cromwell After his death and the deposition of his son Richard, the Rump Parliament was restored by Lambert and other officers of the army, on May 7 1659, in number about forty two the excluded members not being permitted to sit On October 13, in the same year they were dismissed by those who had summoned them and the officers chose a Committee of Safety of twenty three persons who administered the affairs of government till December 20, when, finding them selves generally hated and slighted, and wanting money to pay the soldiers Fleetwood and others desired the Rump to return to the exercise of their trust At length, by means of General Monk above eighty of the old excluded members resumed their places in the House upon which most of the Rumpers quitted it Butler in his Genuine Remains, vol i, p 320, says "Nothing can bear a nearer resemblance to the luz or rump bone of the ancient rabbins, than the present Parliament, that has been so many

But now, alas ¹ they re all expir d,
 And th House as well as members, fir d
 Consum d in kennels by the rout,
 With which they other fires put out,
 Condemn d t ungovernmg distress, 1635
 And paltry private wretchedness,
 Worse than the devil to privation,
 Beyond all hopes of restoration,
 And parted, like the body and soul,
 From all dominion and control 1643
 We who could lately with a look,
 Enact establish or revoke,
 Whose arbitrary nods gave law,
 And frowns kept multitudes in awe
 Before the bluster of whose huff, 1645
 All hats as in a storm flew off
 Ador d and bow d to by the great,
 Down to the footman and valet
 Had more bent knees than chapel mats
 And prayers than the crowns of hats 1650
 Shall now be scorn d as wretchedly
 For ruin s just as low as high
 Which might be suffer d, were it all
 The horror that attends our fall
 For some of us have scores more large 1655
 Than heads and quarters can discharge ¹
 And others who, by restless scraping
 With public frauds and private rapine
 Have mighty heaps of wealth amass d,
 Would gladly lay down all at last, 1663
 And to be but undone entail
 Their vessels on perpetual jail ²

years dead, and rotten under ground, to any man s thinking that the ghosts
 of some of the members thereof have transmigrated into other parliaments
 and some into those parts from whence there is no redemption should
 nevertheless at two several and respective resurrections start up like the
 dragon s teeth that were sown into living natural and carnal members
 And hence it is I suppose that the physicians and anatomists call this bone
 os sacrum or the holy bone

¹ Alluding to the common punishments of high treason noblemen being
 beheaded and others hung drawn and quartered

² This commutation was accepted by some of the Regicides at the Re
 storation.

And bless the devil to let them farms
 Of forfeit souls, on no worse terms
 This said, a near and louder shout 1685
 Put all th assembly to the rout,¹
 Who now began t out run their fear,
 As horses do, from those they bear,
 But crowded on with so much haste,
 Until they d block d the passage fast, 1670
 And barricado d it with haunches
 Of outward men, and bulks and paunches,
 That with their shoulders strove to squeeze,
 And rather save a crippled piece
 Of all their crush d and broken members, 1675
 Than have them grill'd on the embers,
 Still pressing on with heavy packs
 Of one another on their backs,
 The van guard could no longer bear
 The charges of the forlorn rear, 1680
 But, borne down headlong by the rout,
 Were trampled sorely under foot,
 Yet nothing prov'd so formidable,
 As th horrid cook ry of the rabble ²
 And fear, that keeps all feeling out, 1685
 As lesser pains are by the gout,

¹ When Sir Martin came to the Cabal he left the rabble at Temple bar but by the time he had concluded his discourse they had reached Whitehall This alarmed our Caballeis and they made a precipitate retreat apprehensive lest they should be hanged in reality as they had been in effigy

² The following very graphic account of this popular burning and roasting of the Rumps is given by Pepys who happened to be going through the streets at the time 'In Cheapside there were a great many bonfires and Bow bells, and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a ringing Hence we went homeward, it being about ten at night But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen' The number of bonfires there being fourteen between St Dunstan's and Temple bar and at Strand Bridge, [a bridge which spanned the Strand close to the east end of Catherine street where a small stream ran down from the fields into the Thames near Somerset House] I could tell at one time thirty one fires in King street seven or eight and all along burning and roasting, and drinking of Rumps, there being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down The butchers at the maypoles in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump On Ludgate hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied to it and another basting of it Indeed, it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it At one end

Reliev d 'em with a fresh supply
Of rallied force, enough to fly,
And beat a Tuscan running horse
Whose jockey rider is all spurs ¹

1690

of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire and so hot that we were fain to keep on the other side See Pepys Memoirs, vol 1 p 22 (Bohn's edition)

¹ Races of this kind are practised both on the Corso at Rome and at Florence At Rome in the carnival, a number of horses are trained on purpose for this diversion They are drawn up a breast in the Piazza del Popolo and certain balls with little sharp spikes are hung along their rumps which serve to spur them on as soon as they begin to run



PART III CANTO III.




ARGUMENT

The Knight and Squire's prodigious flight
To quit th' enchanted bow'r by night
He plods to turn his amorous suit,
T' a plea in law, and prosecute
Repairs to counsel, to advise
'Bout managing the enterprise,
But first resolves to try by letter,
And one¹ more fair address to get her

¹ The early editions read, "once more"

AND III CANTO III


 HO would believe what strange bugbears
 Mankind creates itself of fears,
 That spring like fern that insect weed,
 Equivocally without seed ¹
 And have no possible foundation, 5
 But merely in th' imagination ²
 And yet can do more dreadful feats
 Than hags with all their imps and teats ²
 Make more bewitch and haunt themselves,
 Than all their nurseries of elves 10
 For fear does things so like a witch,
 'Tis hard t' unriddle which is which
 Sets up communities of senses
 To chop and change intelligences
 As Rosicrucian virtuosos 15
 Can see with ears, and hear with noses, ³

¹ He calls it an insect weed, on the supposition of its being bred, as many insects were thought to be by what was called equivocal or spontaneous, generation Ferns have seeds so small as to be almost invisible to the naked eye whence the ancients held them to be without seed Our ancestors believing that the seed of this plant was invisible reported that those who possessed the secret of wearing it about them would become likewise invisible Shakspeare registers this notion no doubt banteringly in his Henry IV Part I *Gadshill* — We steal as in a castle cock sure, we have the receipt of fern seed, we walk invisible

² Alluding to common superstitions about witches

³ Grey calls this a banter on the Marquis of Worcester's century of inventions amongst which is one entitled "how to write by the smell, the touch or the taste as distinctly and unconfusedly, yea, as readily as by the sight Butler, in his Remains, says ' This is an art to teach men to see with their ears, and hear with their eyes and noses as it has been found true by experience and demonstration if we may believe the history of the Spaniard, that could see words and swallow music by holding the peg of a fiddle between his teeth, or him that could sing his part backward at first sight,

And when they neither see nor hear,
 Have more than both supplied by fear,
 That makes them in the dark see visions,
 And hag themselves with apparitions, 20
 And when their eyes discover least,
 Discern the subtlest object best,
 Do things not contrary alone
 To th course of nature, but its own,
 The courage of the bravest daunt, 25
 And turn poltroons as valiant
 For men as resolute appear
 With too much, as too little fear,
 And, when they're out of hopes of flying,
 Will run away from death, by dying, 30
 Or turn again to stand it out,
 And those they fled like lions rout
 This Hudibras had prov'd too true,
 Who, by the furies, left perdue,
 And haunted with detachments, sent 35
 From Marshal Legion's regiment,¹
 Was by a fiend as counterfeit,
 Reliev'd and rescu'd with a cheat,
 When nothing but himself, and fear,
 Was both the imps and conjurer ² 40
 As by the rules o' th virtuos
 It follows in due form of poesie
 Disguis'd in all the masks of night,
 We left our champion on his flight,

which those that were near him might hear with their noses See *Re
 mains*, vol. ii p. 245 Nash thinks that Butler probably meant to ridicule
 Sir Kenelm Digby who in his "Treatise on the Nature of Bodies," tells the
 story of a Spanish nobleman "who could hear by his eyes and see words"

¹ Grey supposes that Stephen Marshal a famous Presbyterian preacher,
 who dealt largely in hell and damnation, and was called the Geneva Bull
 is here intended But Nash thinks that the word marshal is a title of of
 fice and rank, not the name of any particular man, and that legion is used
 for the name of a leader, or captain of a company of devils The meaning
 is, that the Knight was haunted by a crew of devils, such as that in the
 Gospel, which obtained the name of Legion because they were many

² The poet, with great wit, rallies the imaginary and groundless fears
 which possess some persons and from whence proceed the tales of ghosts
 and apparitions, imps, conjurers, and witches

At blindman's buff to grope his way 45
 In equal fear of night and day
 Who took his dark and desp'rate course,
 He knew no better than his horse
 And by an unknown devil led¹
 He knew as little whither fled 50
 He never was in greater need
 Nor less capacity of speed
 Disabled, both in man and beast
 To fly and run away his best,
 To keep the enemy, and fear 55
 From equal falling on his rear
 And though with kicks and bangs he ply'd
 The further and the nearer side
 As seamen ride with all their force
 And tug as if they row'd the horse 60
 And when the hackney sails most swift
 Believe they lag or run a drift
 So tho' he posted e'er so fast
 His fear was greater than his haste
 For fear, though fleetier than the wind 65
 Believes tis always left behind
 But when the morn began to appear²
 And shift'd another scene his fear
 He found his new officious shade,
 That came so timely to his aid, 70
 And forc'd him from the foe to escape
 Had turn'd itself to Ralpho's shape
 So like in person garb and pitch
 'Twas hard to interpret which was which
 For Ralpho had no sooner told 75
 The lady all he had to unfold
 But she convey'd³ him out of sight
 To entertain the approaching Knight

¹ It was Ralpho who, though unknown, conveyed the Knight out of the widow's house

² We have now arrived at the third day of the notion of the poem. From the opening of these adventures every morning and night has been poetically described

³ Var. *convoy'd* him in the editions before 1684

And while he gave himself diversion,
 T accommodate his beast and person, 80
 And put his beard into a posture
 At best advantage to accost her,
 She order d th' anti masquerade,
 For his reception, aforesaid
 But, when the ceremony was done, 85
 The lights put out, the furies gone,
 And Hudibras, among the rest
 Convey d away, as Ralpho guess d,¹
 The wretched carliff, all alone,
 As he believ d, began to moan, 90
 And tell his story to himself,
 The Knight mistook him for an elf,
 And did so still till he began
 To scruple at Ralph s outward man,
 And thought, because they oft agreed 95
 T appear in one another s stead,
 And act the saint s and devil s part,
 With undistinguishable art
 They might have done so now perhaps,
 And put on one another s shapes 100
 And therefore, to resolve the doubt,
 He star d upon him and cry d out,
 What art? my Squire or that bold sprite
 That took his place and shape to night?²
 Some busy independent Pug, 105
 Retainer to his synagogue?
 Alas! quoth he, I m none of those
 Your bosom friends, as you suppose,
 But Ralph himself, your trusty Squire,
 Who 's dragg'd your donship out o' the mire,³ 110

¹ It is here said that Ralpho guessed his master was conveyed away, and that he believed himself to be all alone when he made his lamentation but this must be a slip of memory in the poet for some parts of his lamentations are not at all applicable to his own case, but plainly designed for his master's hearing such are ver 1371 &c of Part III c 1 In satirical poetry absolute consistency is not indispensable

² Sir Hudibras, we may remember, though he had no objection to consult with evil spirits did not speak of them with much respect

³ The word Don is often used to signify a knight In the old editions previous to 1710 it is spelt *dun* the reading here is *Dunship*

And from th' enchantments of a widow
 Who d turn d you int a beast, have freed you
 And, tho a prisoner of war
 Have brought you safe where now you are,
 Which you wou d gratefully repay, 110
 Your constant Presbyterian way
 That s stranger quoth the Knight and stranger
 Who gave thee notice of my danger ?
 Quoth he Th' infernal conjurer
 Pursu d and took me prisoner, 120
 And, knowing you were hereabout,
 Brought me along to find you out,
 Where I in hugger mugger hid ¹
 Have noted all they said or did
 And tho they lay to him the pageant 125
 I did not see him nor his agent
 Who play d their sorceries out of sight,
 T' avoid a fiercer second fight
 But didst thou see no devils then ?
 Not one quoth he, but carnal men 130
 A little worse than fiends in hell
 And that she devil Jezebel,
 That laugh d and tee he d with derision
 To see them take your deposition
 What then quoth Hudibras was he 135
 That play d the dev l to examine me ?
 A rallying weaver in the town
 That did it in a parson s gown
 Whom all the parish take for gifted
 But, for my part I ne er believ d it 140
 In which you told them all your feats
 Your conscientious frauds and cheats
 Deny d your whipping and confess d
 The naked truth of all the rest
 More plainly than the rev rend writer 145
 That to our churches veil d his mitre ²

¹ Meaning privately and without order Thus Shakspeare in Hamlet
 "We ve done but greenly in *hugger mugger* to inter him poor Ophelia

² This character has been applied to several church dignitaries *Williams*
 Bishop of Lincoln, afterward Archbishop of York, ' the pepper nosed Catiff
 that snuffs, puffs and nuffs ingratitude to Parliament—a jack a lent made

All which they took in black and white,
 And cudgell'd me to underwrite
 What made thee, when they all were gone
 And none but thou and I alone, 150
 To act the devil, and forbear
 To rid me of my hellish fear?
 Quoth he I knew your constant rate,
 And frame of spirit too obstinate,
 To be by me prevail'd upon 155
 With any motives of my own
 And therefore strove to counterfeit
 The devil awhile to nicks your wit,
 The devil, that is your constant crony,
 That only can prevail upon ye, 160
 Else we might still have been disputing,
 And they with weighty drubs confuting
 The Knight, who now began to find
 They'd left the enemy behind
 And saw no further harm remain, 165
 But feeble weariness and pain,
 Perceiv'd by losing of their way
 They'd gain'd the advantage of the day,
 And, by declining of the road
 They had, by chance their rear made good, 170
 He ventur'd to dismiss his fear
 That parting's wont to rant and tear,
 And give the desperate attack
 To danger still behind its back

of a leak and red herring *Graham*, Bishop of Orkney who renounced his
 Bishoprick to join the Scotch covenants *Adair* Bishop of Kilala, who
 was deprived of his Bishoprick for speaking in favour of the covenants
 and *Herbert Croft* the excellent Bishop of Hereford all of whom had
 seemed more or less to side with the Dissenters But Nash points out a
 coincidence which fixes it on the last named prelate It appears that in
 1675 three years before the publication of this part of the poem a pam-
 phlet came out generally attributed to the Bishop of Hereford, called
The naked Truth or State of the Primitive Church, a title which gives a
 striking air of probability to the supposition In this piece the distinction
 of the three orders of the Church is flatly denied, and endeavoured to be
 disproved the surplice bowing towards the altar, kneeling at the sacrament
 and other ceremonies of the Church are condemned while most of the
 pleas for nonconformists are speciously and zealously supported This
 pamphlet made a great noise at the time

For having paus'd to recollect, 175
 And on his past success reflect,
 T examine and consider why
 And whence and how he came to fly
 And when no devil had appear d,
 What else it could be said he fear d, 180
 It put him in so fierce a rage
 He once resolv d to re engage ,
 Toss d, like a foot ball back again
 With shame and vengeance and disdain
 Quoth he, It was thy cowardice 185
 That made me from this leaguer rise,
 And when I d half reduc d the place,
 To quit it infamously base
 Was better cover d by thy new
 Arriv d detachment than I knew ¹ 190
 To slight my new acquests and run,
 Victoriously from battles won
 And reck ning all I gain d or lost,
 To sell them cheaper than they cost ,
 To make me put myself to flight, 195
 And conqu'ring, run away by night
 To drag me out which th haughty foe
 Durst never have presum d to do ,
 To mount me in the dark, by force,
 Upon the bare ridge of my horse 200
 Expos d in *querpo* ² to their rage,
 Without my arms and equipage ,

¹ Here seems a defect in coherency and syntax The Knight means that it was dishonourable in him to quit the siege especially when reinforced by the arrival of the Squire

² *Querpo* (from the Spanish *cuero*) signifies a close waistcoat or jacket without the customary cloak Butler in his MS Common place Book says, all coats of arms were defensive and worn upon shields though the ancient use of them is now given over and men fight in *querpo* To fight in *querpo* is synonymous to our old English phrase *to fight in buff* See Junii Etymologicum The term is found in several of our early dramatists e g 'Boy my cloak and rapier it fits not a gentleman of my rank to walk the streets in *querpo* Beaumont and Fletcher Love s Cure, ii 1

Your Spanish host is never seen in *cuero*
 Without his paramentos, cloke and sword

Lest, if they ventur d to pursue,
 I might th unequal fight renew,
 And, to preserve thy outward man, 205
 Assum'd my place and led the van
 All this quoth Ralph I did tis true,
 Not to preserve myself but you
 You, who were damn d to baser drubs
 Than wretches feel in powd ring tubs ¹ 210
 To mount two wheel d carroches, worse
 Than managing a wooden horse, ²
 Dragg d out thro straiter holes by th ears,
 Eras d, or coup d for perjurers, ³
 Who tho th attempt had prov d in vain, 215
 Had had no reason to complain,
 But since it prosper d, tis unhandsome
 To blame the hand that paid your ransom,
 And rescu d your obnoxious bones
 From unavoidable battoons 220
 The enemy was reinforc d
 And we disabled and unhors'd,
 Disarm d unqualify d for fight,
 And no way left but hasty flight,
 Which, tho as desp rate in th attempt, 225
 Has giv n you freedom to condemn t
 But were our bones in fit condition
 To reinforce the expedition,
 Tis now unseasonable and vain,
 To think of falling on again 230
 No martial project to surprise
 Can ever be attempted twice,
 Nor cast design serve afterwards
 As gamesters tear their losing cards

¹ See note to line 980 of the preceding Canto page 366

² Carroche properly signifies a coach, from the Italian *carroccio* but in burlesque it is a cart and here means that in which criminals were carried to execution At that time a coach invariably had four wheels, and a *charette*, which preceded it only two Riding the wooden horse was a punishment inflicted on soldiers

³ *Erased* in Heraldry means a member torn or separated from the body, so that it looks jagged like the teeth of a saw, *couped* signifies on the contrary cut off clean and smooth The Knight had incurred the guilt of perjury

Hence timely running's no mean part 245
 Of conduct, in the martial art,
 By which some glorious feats achieve,
 As citizens by breaking thrive,
 And cannons conquer armies while
 They seem to draw off and recoil, 250
 Is held the gallant'st course, and bravest,¹
 To great exploits, as well as safest,
 That spares th' expense of time and pains,
 And dang'rous beating out of brains,
 And in the end prevails as certain 255
 As those that never trust to fortune,
 But make their fear do execution
 Beyond the stoutest resolution
 As earthquakes kill without a blow,
 And, only trembling, overthrow 260
 If th' ancients crown'd their bravest men
 That only sav'd a citizen,²
 What victory cou'd e'er be won,
 If ev'ry one would save but one?
 Or fight endanger'd to be lost, 265
 Where all resolve to save the most?
 By this means when a battle's won,
 The wars as far from being done
 For those that save themselves and fly,
 Go halves at least,³ th' victory, 270
 And sometime, when the loss is small,³
 And danger great, they challenge all,

miscellaneous poems, published in 1656, and reprinted in *Wit's Recreations*,
 2 vols 12mo Lond 1617

He that is in battle slain
 Can never rise to fight again
 But he that fights and runs away,
 May live to fight another day

¹ Some editions read

Is held the gallant st—

² This was the *corona civica* or civic crown which was granted to any soldier who had saved the life of a Roman citizen by slaying an enemy. Though formed of no better materials than oak twigs it was esteemed more honourable than any other decoration.

³ The early editions have "their loss

Print new additions to their feats,
 And emendations in gazettes ¹
 And when for furious haste to run, 270
 They durst not stay to fire a gun,
 Have done t with bonfires, and at home
 Made squibs and crackers overcome,
 To set the rabble on a flame,
 And keep their governors from blame, 280
 Disperse the news the pulpit tells ²
 Confirm d with fireworks and with bells
 And tho' reduc d to that extreme
 They have been forc d to sing *Te Deum* ³
 Yet with religious blasphemy, 285
 By flatt ring heaven with a lie,
 And for their beating giving thanks,
 They ve raised recruits, and fill d their banks ⁴

¹ The gazettes did not come into vogue until Charles the Second's time. The newspapers during the civil war and the commonwealth were called *Mercuries* and *Diurnals*.

² 'In their sermons says Burnet and chiefly in their prayers, all that passed in the state was canvassed. Men were as good as named and either recommended or complained of to God as they were odious or acceptable to them. At length this humour grew so petulant that the pulpit was a scene of news and passion.

³ This was the customary psalm of victory, but the Puritans did not approve of it, as being of papistical origin.

⁴ It has been an ancient and very frequent practice for the vanquished party in war to boast of victory and even to ordain solemn thanksgivings as means of keeping up the spirits of the people. The Parliament were said often to have had recourse to this artifice and in the course of the war had thirty five thanksgiving days. In the first notable encounter at Wickfield near Worcester September 23, 1642 their forces received a total defeat. Whitlock says they were all killed or routed and only one man lost on the king's side. Yet the Parliamentarians spread about printed papers bragging of it as a complete victory and ordained a special thanksgiving in London. Thus they did after the battle of Keynton and the second fight at Newbury but particularly after Sir William Waller received that great defeat at Roundway down when they kept a thanksgiving at Gloucester and made rejoicings for a signal victory, which they pretended he had gained for them. This was no new practice. See *Polyæni Stratagem* lib. i. cap. 35 and 44.—Stratocles persuaded the Athenians to offer a sacrifice to the gods, by way of thanks, on account of their having defeated their enemies although he knew that the Athenian fleet had been defeated. When the truth was known and the people became exasperated, his reply was 'What injury have I done you? it is owing to me that you have spent three days in joy.—Catherine de Medicis used to say, that a false report if believed for

For those who run from th enemy,
 Engage them equally to fly, 290
 And when the fight becomes a chase
 Those win the day that win the race ¹
 And that which would not pass in fights,
 Has done the feat with easy flights,
 Recover d many a desp rate campaign 295
 With Bourdeaux, Burgundy, and Champaign,
 Restor d the fainting high and mighty,
 With brandy wine,² and *agua vitæ*,
 And made them stoutly overcome
 With bacrack hoccamore, and mum ³ 300
 Whom th uncontroll d decrees of fate
 To victory necessitate
 With which altho they run or burn,⁴
 They unavoidably return,
 Or else their sultan populaces 305
 Still strangle all their routed bassas ⁵

three days might save a state Napoleon understood these tactics tho roughly See many stories of the same kind in the 'General Dictionary,' vol x p 337

¹ An old philosopher at a drinking match insisted that he had won the prize because he was first drunk

² In Germany it is still called *Branntwein* *Agua vitæ* was formerly used in this country as a medicine only

³ The first is an excellent kind of Rhenish wine, called Bacharach from a town of that name in the lower Palatinate said to be derived from *Bacchæ ara*, the altar of Bacchus Hoccamore means *Hochheimer*, the Rhenish wine which first became familiarly known in this country whence all the others obtained though improperly the name of Hock Mum is a rich strong beer made in Brunswick and called *Braunschweiger Mumme* It had great reputation everywhere, and is said to have been introduced into this country by General Monk The invention of it is attributed by some to Christopher Mumme, in 1489, but it seems not unlikely to have derived its name from its being a delicious beer used on feast days and holidays or *Mummen*, the old German word for revels, whence our term *mummers* A receipt for making it is preserved in the Harleian Miscellany, vol 1 p 524 This signification of *Mum* seems to have nothing in common with that indicating *se* *lence* explained in a previous note

⁴ That is though they run away or their ships are fired See v 308 This may refer to the repulse of Popham at Kinsale, which he had expected to take by bribing the royalist commander, who having received the bribe nevertheless resisted, and with success the attack of the Parliament s fleet and army

⁵ The mob like the sultan or grand seignor, seldom fail to strangle any of their commanders called *Bassas*, if they prove unsuccessful, thus Waller

Quoth Hudibras I understand
 What fights thou mean'st at sea and land
 And who those were that run away
 And yet gave out they'd won the day 310
 Altho' the rabble sours'd them for't
 O'er head and ears in mud and dirt
 'Tis true our modern way of war
 Is grown more politic by far¹
 But not so resolute and bold, 315
 Nor tied to honour as the old
 For now they laugh at giving battle
 Unless it be to herds of cattle
 Or fighting convoys of provision
 The whole design o' th' expedition 320
 And not with downright blows to rout
 The enemy but eat them out
 As fighting in all beasts of prey
 And eating are perform'd one way,
 To give defiance to their teeth 325
 And fight their stubborn guts² to death,

was neglected after the battle of Roundway down, called by the wits Run away down

¹ Butler's unpublished Common place Book has the following lines on "The modern way of war"

For fighting now is out of mode,
 And stratagems the only road
 Unless in th' out of fashion wars
 Of barba'rous Turks and Polanders
 All feats of arms are now reduc'd
 To chousing or to being chous'd
 They fight not now to overthrow,
 But gull or circumvent a foe
 And watch all small advantages
 As if they fought a game at chess
 And he's approv'd the most deserving
 Who longest can hold out at starving
 Who makes best fricasees of cats
 Of frogs and —, and mice and rats
 Pottage of vermin and ragoos
 Of trunks and boxes and old shoes
 And those who like th' immortal gods
 Do never eat have still the odds

² Later editions read the others' stomachs

And those achieve the high'st renown,
 That bring the other stomachs down
 There's now no fear of wounds nor maiming,
 All dangers are reduc'd to famine, 330
 And feats of arms to plot design,
 Surprise and stratagem and mine
 But have no need nor use of courage,
 Unless it be for glory or forage
 For if they fight 'tis but by chance, 335
 When one side vent'ring to advance,
 And come uncivilly too near,
 Are charg'd unmercifully in the rear,
 And forc'd, with terrible resistance,
 To keep hereafter at a distance 340
 To pick out ground to encamp upon,
 Where store of largest rivers run,
 That serve instead of peaceful barriers,
 To part the engagements of their warriors,
 Where both from side to side may skip, 345
 And only encounter at bo-peep
 For men are found the stouter hearted,
 The certainer they're to be parted,
 And therefore post themselves in bogs
 As the ancient mice attack'd the frogs,¹ 350
 And made their mortal enemy,
 The water rat their great ally²
 For 'tis not now who's stout and bold?
 But, who bears hunger best, and cold?³
 And he's approv'd the most deserving, 355
 Who longest can hold out at starving,
 But he that routs most pigs and cows,
 The formidablest man of prowess⁴

¹ Alluding to Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*, or *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*

² Meaning the Dutch, who were allies of the Parliamentarians

³ An ordinance was passed March 26, 1644, for the contribution of one-meal a week toward the charge of the army

⁴ A sneer perhaps on Venables and Pen who were unfortunate in their expedition against the Spaniards at St Domingo in the year 1655. It is observed of them that they exercised their valour only on horses asses and such like, making a slaughter of all they met, greedily devouring skins en

So th' emperor Caligula,
 That triumph'd o'er the British sea,¹ 360
 Took crabs and oysters prisoners
 And lobsters, 'stead of cuirassiers²
 Engag'd his legions in fierce bustles
 With periwinkles, prawns and muscles,
 And led his troops with furious gallops, 365
 To charge whole regiments of scallops,
 Not like their ancient way of war,
 To wait on his triumphal car
 But when he went to dine or sup,
 More bravely ate his captives up, 370
 And left all war by his example
 Reduc'd to vict'ling of a camp well
 Quoth Ralph By all that you have said,
 And twice as much that I cou'd add,
 Th' plain you cannot now do worse 375
 Than take this out of fashion'd course,
 To hope, by stratagem, to woo her,
 Or waging battle to subdue her,
 Tho' some have done it in romances
 And bang'd them into am'rous fancies, 380
 As those who won the Amazons,
 By wanton drubbing of their bones
 And stout Rinaldo gain'd his bride³
 By courting of her back and side

trails and all to satiate their hunger See *Harleian Miscellany* vol iii
 No xii p 494, 498

¹ Caligula having ranged his army on the sea shore and disposed his instruments of war in the order of battle on a sudden ordered his men to gather up the shells on the strand and fill their helmets and bosoms with them, calling them the spoils of the ocean as if by that proceeding he had made a conquest of the British sea Suetonius, *Life of Caligula*

² Sir Arthur Hazelrig had a regiment nicknamed his lobsters and it has been thought by some, that the defeat at Roundway down was owing to the ill behaviour of this regiment Cleveland in his character of a London diurnal, says of it "This is the William which is the city's champion, and the diurnal's delight Yet in all this triumph translate the scene but at Roundway down, Hazelrig's lobsters were turned into crabs, and crawled backwards

³ Rinaldo is hero of the last book of Tasso but he did not win his Armida thus perhaps the poet quoting by memory intended to mention Ruggiero in Ariosto See also *Midsummer Night's Dream*

But since those times and feats are over, 385
 They are not for a modern lover,
 When mistresses are too cross grain d,
 By such addresses to be gain d,
 And if they were, would have it out
 With many another kind of bout 390
 Therefore I hold no course s infeasible,
 As this of force, to win the Jezebel
 To storm her heart by th' antic charms
 Of ladies errant force of arms,
 But rather strive by law to win her, 395
 And try the title you have in her
 Your case is clear, you have her word,
 And me to witness the accord,¹
 Besides two more of her retinue
 To testify what pass d between you, 400
 More probable, and like to hold,
 Than hand, or seal, or breaking gold,²
 For which so many that renounc d
 Their plighted contracts have been trounc d,
 And bills upon record been found, 405
 That forc d the ladies to compound,
 And that, unless I miss the matter,
 Is all the bus ness you look after
 Besides encounters at the bar
 Are braver now than those in war, 410
 In which the law does execution
 With less disorder and confusion,
 Has more of honour in t, some hold,
 Not like the new way, but the old,³
 When those the pen had drawn together, 415
 Decided quarrels with the feather,
 And winged arrows kill d as dead,
 And more than bullets now of lead
 So all their combats now, as then,
 Are manag d chiefly by the pen, 420

¹ Ralpho no doubt was ready to witness anything that would serve his turn and hoped the widow's two attendants would do the same

² The breaking of a piece of gold between lovers was formerly much practised, and looked upon as a firm marriage contract

³ Ralpho persuades the Knight to gain the widow at least her fortune not by the use of fire arms, but by the feathered quill of the lawyer

That does the feat with braver vigour,
 In words at length, as well as figures,
 Is judge of all the world performs
 In voluntary feats of arms,
 And whatsoever's achiev'd in fight, 420
 Determines which is wrong or right,
 For whether you prevail or lose
 All must be try'd there in the close,
 And therefore 'tis not wise to shun
 What you must trust to ere ye've done 430
 The law that settles all you do
 And marries where you did but woo
 That makes the most perfidious lover,
 A lady that's as false recover ¹
 And if it judge upon your side, 435
 Will soon extend her for your bride ²
 And put her person goods or lands
 Or which you like best into your hands
 For law's the wisdom of all ages,
 And managed by the ablest sages, 440
 Who, tho' their business at the bar
 Be but a kind of civil war,
 In which they engage with fiercer dungeons
 Than ever the Grecians did and Trojans,
 They never manage the contest 445
 To impair their public interest,
 Or by their controversies lessen
 The dignity of their profession,
 Not like us brethren who divide
 Our commonwealth, the Cause and side, ³ 450
 And tho' we're all as near of kindred
 As th' outward man is to the inward
 We agree in nothing but to wrangle
 About the slightest fingle fangle,

¹ That is the law will recover a lady though she be as false as the most perfidious lover

² Meaning to levy an extent upon the lady seize her for your use in satisfaction of the debt

³ Take part on one side or the other Whereas we who have a common interest, a common cause, a common party against the Royalists and Episcopalians, weaken our strength by internal divisions among ourselves

While lawyers have more sober sense, 455
 Than t' argue at their own expense,¹
 But make their best advantages
 Of others' quarrels, like the Swiss,²
 And out of foreign controversies
 By aiding both sides fill their purses, 460
 But have no interest in the Cause
 For which they engage and wage the laws,
 Nor further prospect than their pay,
 Whether they lose or win the day
 And tho' they abound in all ages, 465
 With sundry learned clerks and sages,
 Tho' all their business be dispute,
 With which they canvass every suit,
 They've no disputes about their art,
 Nor in polemics controvert, 470
 While all professions else are found
 With nothing but disputes to abound
 Divines of all sorts, and physicians,
 Philosophers, mathematicians
 The Galenist, and Paracelsian 475
 Condemn the way each other deals in³
 Anatomists dissect and mangle
 To cut themselves out work to wrangle,
 Astrologers dispute their dreams
 That in their sleeps they talk of schemes, 480
 And heralds stickle, who got who,
 So many hundred years ago
 But lawyers are too wise a nation
 They expose their trade to disputation,
 Or make the busy rabble judges 485
 Of all their secret piques and grudges,

¹ The wisdom of lawyers is such that however they may seem to quarrel at the bar they are good friends the moment they leave the court. Unlike us Independents and Presbyterians who though our opinions are very similar are always wrangling about the merest trifles.

² The Swiss mercenaries, as they are commonly called if well paid will enter into the service of any foreign power but according to the adage "*point d'argent point de Suisse*"

³ The followers of Galen advocated the use of herbs and roots, the disciples of Paracelsus recommended mineral preparations, especially mercury

In which, whoever wins the day,
 The whole profession s sure to pay ¹
 Beside, no mountebanks, nor cheats,
 Dare undertake to do their feats, 490
 When in all other sciences
 They swarm like insects, and increase
 For what bigot ² durst ever draw,
 By Inward Light, a deed in law ³
 Or could hold forth by Revelation, 495
 An answer to a declaration ⁴
 For those that meddle with their tools,
 Will cut their fingers, if they re fools
 And if you follow their advice
 In bills and answers and replies, 500
 They ll write a love letter in chancery,
 Shall bring her upon oath to answer ye,
 And soon reduce her t be your wife,
 Or make her weary of her life
 The Knight who us d with tricks and shifts 505
 To edify by Ralpho s gifts,
 But in appearance cried him down ³
 To make them better seem his own,
 All plagiaries constant course
 Of sinking when they take a purse, ⁴ 510
 Resolv d to follow his advice,
 But kept it from him by disguise,
 And, after stubborn contradiction,
 To counterfeit his own conviction,
 And, by transition fall upon 515
 The resolution as his own
 Quoth he, This gambol thou advisest
 Is, of all others, the unwiseest,
 For, if I think by law to gain her,
 There's nothing sillier nor vainer, 520

¹ When lawyers quarrel, they do not suffer the public to know it, for whichever disputant might gain the advantage, the whole profession would suffer by the exposures made in the brawl

² The accent is here laid on the last syllable of bigot

³ *Var* cried *them* down in 1700 and subsequent editions

⁴ Meaning that the plagiarist conceals his robbery with the dexterity of a pickpocket

'Tis but to hazard my pretence,
 Where nothing's certain but th' expense,
 To act against myself, and traverse
 My suit and title to her favours,
 And if she should which heav'n forbid, 520
 O'erthrow me, as the fiddler did,
 What after course have I to take,
 'Gainst losing all I have to stake?
 He that with injury is griev'd,
 And goes to law to be reliev'd, 530
 Is sillier than a sottish chouse,
 Who, when a thief has robb'd his house,
 Applies himself to cunning men
 To help him to his goods agen,¹
 When all he can expect to gain, 535
 Is but to squander more in vain
 And yet I have no other way,
 But is as difficult to play
 For to reduce her by main force
 Is now in vain by fair means worse, 540
 But worst of all to give her over,
 'Till she's as desp'rate to recover
 For bad games are thrown up too soon,
 Until they're never to be won,
 But since I have no other course, 545
 But is as bad to attempt or worse,
 He that complies against his will,
 Is of his own opinion still,

¹ In Butler's MS under these lines are many severe strictures on lawyers

More nice and subtle than those wire drawers
 Of equity and justice common lawyers
 Who never end, but always prune a suit
 To make it bear the greater store of fruit
 As labouring men their hands criers their lungs
 Porters their backs lawyers hire out their tongues
 A tongue to mure and gain accustom'd long
 Grows quite insensible to right or wrong
 The humourist that would have had a trial
 With one that did but look upon his dial,
 And sued him but for telling of his clock
 And saying, 'twas too fast or slow it struck

Which he may 'dhere to, yet disown
 For reasons to himself best known, 500
 But tis not to b avoided now,
 For Sidrophel resolves to sue
 Whom I must answer or begin,
 Inevitably first with him
 For I ve receiv d advertisement, 505
 By times enough, of his intent,
 And knowing he that first complains
 Th advantage of the bus ness gains,
 For courts of justice understand
 The plaintiff to be eldest hand, 560
 Who what he pleases may aver
 The other nothing till he swear,¹
 Is freely admitted to all grace
 And lawful favour by his place,
 And for his bringing custom in, 565
 Has all advantages to win
 I who resolve to oversee
 No lucky opportunity,
 Will go to counsel, to advise
 Which way t encounter, or surprise, 570
 And after long consideration
 Have found out one to fit th occasion,
 Most apt for what I have to do,
 As counsellor and justice too²
 And truly so, no doubt, he was, 575
 A lawyer fit for such a case
 An old dull sot, who told the clock³
 For many years at Bridewell dock,
 At Westminster, and Hicks s hall,
 And *hucius doctus*⁴ play d in all, 580

¹ An answer to a bill in chancery is always upon oath —a petition not so

² Probably the poet had his eye on some particular person here The old annotator says it was Edmund Prideaux but the respectable and wealthy Attorney General of that name cannot have been meant The portrait must have been taken from some one of a much lower class A pettifogging lawyer named Siderfin is said with more probability to have been intended

³ The puisne judge was formerly called the Tell clock as supposed to be not much employed but listening how the time went

⁴ Cant words used by jugglers corrupted perhaps from *huc est inter doctos* See note on *hocus pocus* at line 716

Where, in all governments and times,
 He d been both friend and foe to crimes,
 And us d two equal ways of gaining
 By hind ring justice, or maintaining,¹
 To many a whore gave privilege, 580
 And whipp d for want of quarterage,
 Cart loads of bawds to prison sent,
 For b ing behind a fortnight s rent,
 And many a trusty pimp and crony
 To Puddle dock ² for want of money 590
 Engag d the constables to seize
 All those that wou d not break the peace,
 Nor give him back his own foul words
 Though sometimes commoners, or lords,
 And kept em prisoners of course, 595
 For being sober at ill hours
 That in the morning he might free
 Or bind 'em over for his fee
 Made monsters fine, and puppet plays,
 For leave to practise in their ways 600
 Farm d out all cheats and went a share
 With th headborough and scavenger
 And made the dirt i th' streets compound,
 For taking up the public ground,³
 The kennel, and the king s high way, 605
 For being unmolested pay
 Let out the stocks and whipping post
 And cage, to those that gave him most,
 Impos d a tax on bakers ears,⁴
 And for false weights on chandelers, 610
 Made victuallers and vintners fine
 For arbitrary ale and wine⁵

¹ Butler served some years as clerk to a justice. The person who employed him was an able magistrate and respectable character but in that situation he might have had an opportunity of making himself acquainted with the practice of trading justices.

² There was a gaol at this place for petty offenders.

³ Did not levy the penalty for a nuisance but compounded with the offender by accepting a bribe.

⁴ That is took a bribe to save them from the pillory. Bakers were liable to have their ears cropped for light weights.

⁵ For selling ale or wine without licence, or by less than the statutable

But was a kind and constant friend
 To all that regularly offend
 As residentiary bawds 618
 And brokers that receive stol'n goods
 That cheat in lawful mysteries
 And pay church duties, and his fees
 But was implacable and awkward
 To all that interlop'd and hawked¹ 620
 To this brave man the Knight repairs
 For counsel in his law affairs
 And found him mounted in his pew
 With books and money plac'd for show
 Like nest eggs to make clients lay, 625
 And for his false opinion pay
 To whom the Knight with comely grace
 Put off his hat to put his case
 Which he as proudly entertain'd,
 As th' other courteously strain'd 630
 And to assure him twas not that
 He look'd for, bid him put on's hat
 Quoth he There is one Sidrophel
 Whom I have cudgell'd—Very well—
 And now he brags to've beaten me— 635
 Better and better still, quoth he—
 And vows to stick me to the wall
 Where'er he meets me—Best of all
 'Tis true the knave has taken's oath
 That I robb'd him—Well done, in troth 640

measure, or spurious mixtures So Butler says of his Justice, Remains, vol. ii p. 191 "He does his country signal service in the judicious and mature legitimization of tippling houses" that the subject be not imposed upon with illegal and *arbitrary* ale

¹ That is, he was very severe to hawkers and interlopers who interfered with the regular trade of roguery but favoured the offences of those who kept houses took out licences and paid rates and taxes The passage is thus amplified in prose in Butler's *Character of a Justice of the Peace*

He uses great care and moderation in punishing those that offend regularly by their calling as residentiary bawds, and incumbent pimps that pay parish duties shopkeepers that use constant false weights and measures these he rather prunes, that they may grow the better than disables but is very severe to hawkers and interlopers, that commit iniquity on the bye

When he s confess'd he stole my cloak,
 And pick'd my fob, and what he took ,
 Which was the cause that made me bang him,
 And take my goods again—Marry¹ hang him
 Now, whether I should beforehand 645
 Swear he robb'd me ?—I understand
 Or bring my action of conversion
 And trover for my goods ?²—Ah, whoreson !
 Or, if tis better to indite,
 And bring him to his trial ?—Right 650
 Prevent what he designs to do,
 And swear for th' state against him ?³—True
 Or whether he that is defendant,
 In this case, has the better end on t
 Who, putting in a new cross bill 655
 May traverse th action ?—Better still
 Then there s a lady too—Aye, marry
 That s easily prov d accessary ,
 A widow, who by solemn vows,
 Contracted to me for my spouse 660
 Combin'd with him to break her word
 And has abetted all—Good Lord !
 Suborn'd th' aforesaid Sidrophel
 To tamper with the dev'l of hell,
 Who put m' into a horrid fear, 665
 Fear of my life—Make that appear
 Made an assault with fiends and men
 Upon my body—Good agen
 And kept me in a dervly fright,
 And false imprisonment, all night 670
 Meanwhile they robb d me, and my horse,
 And stole my saddle—Worse and worse
 And made me mount upon the bare ridge,
 I avoid a wretcheder miscarriage

¹ The second syllable must be slurred in reading For a note on *Marry come up* see page 93

² An action of trover is an action brought for recovery of goods wrongfully detained

³ Swear that a crime was committed by him against the public peace, or peace of the state

Sir, quoth the Lawyer not to flatter ye, 675
 You have as good and fair a battery¹
 As heart can wish, and need not shame
 The proudest man alive to claim
 For if they ve us d you as you say,
 Marry quoth I, God give you joy, 680
 I wou d it were my case I d give
 More than I'll say, or you ll believe
 I wou'd so trounce her, and her purse,
 I'd make her kneel for better or worse,
 For matrimony, and hanging here, 685
 Both go by destiny so clear,²
 That you as sure may pick and choose,
 As cross I win, and pile you lose³
 And if I durst, I wou d advance
 As much in ready maintenance,⁴ 690
 As upon any case I've known,
 But we that practise dare not own
 The law severely contrabands
 Our taking bus ness off men's hands
 'Tis common barratry,⁵ that bears 695
 Point blank an action 'gainst our ears,
 And crops them till there is not leather,
 To stick a pen in left of either,
 For which some do the summer sault,
 And o er the bar, like tumblers, vault⁶ 700

¹ Meaning an action of Battery See Measure for Measure Act II sc 1 and Twelfth Night, Act IV sc 1

² This proverbial saying has already been quoted at page 166 We will only add here that it is quoted by several of the old poets as also by Shak speare, *Merch of Ven* Act II sc 9, and Ben Jonson, *Barthol Fair*, Act IV sc 3

³ Meaning a mere toss up, see page 292

⁴ Maintenance is the unlawful upholding of a cause or person

⁵ Barratry is the unlawful stirring up of suits or quarrels, either in court or elsewhere

⁶ Summer sault (or somerset) throwing heels over head, a feat of activity performed by tumblers When a lawyer has been guilty of misconduct, and is not allowed to practise in the courts, he is said to be thrown over the bar

But you may swear at any rate,
 Things not in nature for the state,
 For in all courts of justice here
 A witness is not said to swear
 But make oath that is in plain terms 700
 To forge whatever he affirms
 I thank you quoth the Knight, for that
 Because tis to my purpose pat—
 For Justice, tho she s painted blind,
 Is to the weaker side inclin d 710
 Like charity else right and wrong
 Cou d never hold it out so long
 And like blind fortune, with a sleight
 Conveys men s interest and right,
 From Stiles s pocket into Nokes s,¹ 715
 As easily as *hocus pocus* ²
 Plays fast and loose makes men obnoxious
 And clear again like *hocus doctus*
 Then whether you would take her life
 Or b it recover her for your wife 720
 Or be content with what she has,
 And let all other matters pass,
 The bus ness to the law s alone ³
 The proof is all it looks upon
 And you can want no witnesses 725
 To swear to any thing you please ⁴
 That hardly get their mere expenses
 By th labour of their consciences,

¹ Fictitious names sometimes used in stating cases issuing writs &c

² In all probability a corruption of *hoc est corpus* by way of ridiculous imitation of the priests of the Church of Rome in their trick of transubstantiation—TILLOTSON But Nares thinks that the origin of the term may be derived from the Italian jugglers who called that craft *Ochus Bochus* after a magician of that name *Hocus* to cheat comes from this phrase and Malone suggests that the modern word *hoax* has the same origin

³ Later editions read

The bus ness to the law s *all one*

⁴ Taylor the Water Poet says "that some do make a trade of swearing as a fellow being once asked of what occupation he was, made answer that he was a *witness* meaning one that for hire would swear in any man s cause right or wrong

Or letting out to hire their ears
 To affidavit customers 730
 At inconsiderable values,
 To serve for jurymen or *tales* ¹
 Altho' retain'd in th' hardest matters
 Of trustees and administrators
 For that, quoth he, let me alone, 735
 We've store of such, and all our own
 Bred up and tutor'd by our teachers
 Th' ablest of all conscience stretchers ²
 That's well, quoth he, but I should guess,
 By weighing all advantages, 740
 Your surest way is first to pitch
 On Bongey for a water witch, ³
 And when y' have hang'd the conjurer,
 Y' have time enough to deal with her
 In th' int'rim spare for no trepans, 745
 To draw her neck into the banns,
 Ply her with love letters and billets,
 And bait 'em well for quirks and quillets, ⁴
 With trains t' inveigle, and surprise
 Her heedless answers and replies, 750
 And if she miss the mouse trap lines,
 They'll serve for other by designs,
 And make an artist understand,
 To copy out her seal or hand,
 Or find void places in the paper, 755
 To steal in something to entrap her,

¹ *Tales* or *Tales de circumstantibus* are persons of like rank and quality with such of the principal pannel as are challenged, but do not appear and who happening to be in court are taken to supply their places as jury men

² Downing and Stephen Marshall who absolved from their oaths the prisoners released at Brentford See note at pages 82 and 177, 178

³ On Sidrophel the reputed conjurer The poet nicknames him Bongey from a Franciscan friar of that name who lived in Oxford about the end of the thirteenth century, and was by some classed with Roger Bacon and therefore deemed a conjurer by the common people A water witch means probably one to be tried by the water ordeal

⁴ Subtleties Shakspeare frequently used the word quillet which is probably a contraction from quiblet See *Wright's Glossary*

Till, with her worldly goods and body,
 Spite of her heart she has indow'd ye
 Retain all sorts of witnesses,
 That ply i' th' Temple, under trees, 760
 Or walk the round, with knights o' th' posts¹
 About the cross legg'd knights, their hosts,²
 Or wait for customers between
 The pillar rows in Lincoln's Inn,³
 Where vouchers, forgers common bail, 765
 And affidavit men neer fail
 To expose to sale all sorts of oaths
 According to their ears and clothes⁴
 Their only necessary tools,
 Besides the Gospel, and their souls,⁵ 770
 And when ye're furnish'd with all purveys,
 I shall be ready at your service
 I would not give, quoth Hudibras,
 A straw to understand a case,
 Without the admirabler skill 775
 To wind and manage it at will,
 To veer, and tack and steer a cause,
 Against the weather-gage of laws,
 And ring the changes upon cases,
 As plain as noses upon faces, 780

¹ Witnesses who are ready to swear anything true or false See note at page 28

² These witnesses frequently plied for custom about the Temple church, where are several monumental effigies of knights templars who, according to custom are represented cross legged *Their hosts* means that nobody gave them any better entertainment than these knights and therefore that they were almost starved

³ The crypt beneath the chapel of Lincoln's Inn, was another place where these knights of the post plied for custom

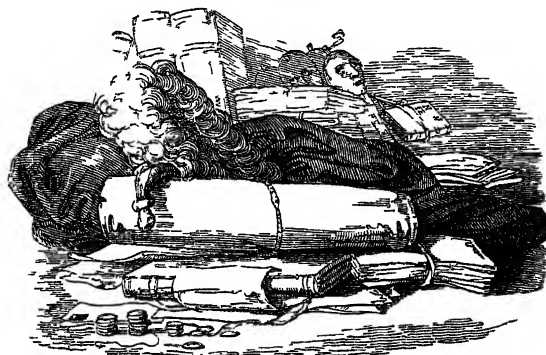
⁴ Lord Clarendon in his History of the Rebellion, vol. ii p. 355, tells us that an Irishman of low condition and meanly clothed, being brought as evidence against Lord Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland Mr Pym gave him money to buy a satin suit and cloak, in which equipage he appeared at the trial. The like was practised in the trial of Lord Stafford for the popish plot See Carte's History of the Life of James Duke of Ormonde, vol. ii p. 517

⁵ When a witness swears he holds the Gospel in his right hand, and kisses it. the Gospel therefore is called his tool, by which he damns his other tool, namely, his soul

As you have well instructed me,
For which you ve earn d, here tis, your fee
I long to practise your advice,
And try the subtle artifice,
To bait a letter as you bid—

785

As not long after thus he did
For, having pump d up all his wit
And humm d upon it, thus he writ





AN HEROICAL EPISTLE
OF
HUDIBRAS TO HIS LADY

HWHO was once as great as Cæsar,
Am now reduc'd to Nebuchadnezzar,¹
And from as fam'd a conqueror
As ever took degree in war,
Or did his exercise in battle,
By you turn'd out to grass with cattle
For since I am deny'd access
To all my earthly happiness

¹ See Daniel chap. iv. verses 32-33

Am fallen from the paradise
 Of your good graces, and fair eyes 10
 Lost to the world and you, I m sent
 To everlasting banishment,
 Where all the hopes I had t have won
 Your heart, b ing dash d, will break my own
 Yet if you were not so severe 15
 To pass your doom before you hear,
 You d find upon my just defence
 How much you ve wrong d my innocence
 That once I made a vow to you
 Which yet is unperform d, tis true , 20
 But not because it is unpaid
 Tis violated though delay d
 Or if it were, it is no fault
 So heinous as you d have it thought
 To undergo the loss of ears 25
 Like vulgar hackney perjurers
 For there s a difference in the case,
 Between the noble and the base ,
 Who always are observ'd to ve done t
 Upon as diff'rent an account 30
 The one for great and weighty cause,
 To salve in honour ugly flaws
 For none are like to do it sooner
 Than those who re ncest of their honour
 The other for base gain and pay 35
 Forswear and perjure by the day,
 And make th exposing and retailing
 Their souls and consciences a calling
 It is no scandal nor aspersion
 Upon a great and noble person, 40
 To say he nat rally abhorr d
 Th old fashion d trick, to keep his word,
 Tho' tis perfidiousness and shame,
 In meaner men to do the same
 For to be able to forget, 45
 Is found more useful to the great
 Than gout, or deafness or bad eyes,
 To make 'em pass for wondrous wise

It is not just, that does exempt
 The guilty, and punish the innocent ¹
 To make the ears repair the wrong
 Committed by th' ungovern'd tongue,
 And when one member is forsworn, 55
 Another to be cropp'd or torn
 And if you shou'd, as you design,
 By course of law, recover mine,
 You're like if you consider right,
 To gain but little honour by't 60
 For he that for his lady's sake
 Lays down his life, or limbs, at stake,
 Does not so much deserve her favour,
 As he that pawns his soul to have her
 This you've acknowledg'd I have done, 65
 Altho' you now disdain to own,
 But sentence ² what you rather ought
 T' esteem good service than a fault
 Besides, oaths are not bound to bear
 That literal sense the words infer, 70
 But by the practice of the age,
 Are to be judg'd how far th' engage,
 And where the sense by custom's checkt,
 Are found void and of none effect,
 For no man takes or keeps a vow, 75
 But just as he sees others do,
 Nor are th' oblig'd to be so brittle,
 As not to yield and bow a little
 For as best temper'd blades are found,
 Before they break, to bend quite round, 80
 So truest oaths are still most tough,
 And, tho' they bow, are breaking proof
 Then wherefore should they not be allow'd
 In love a greater latitude?
 For as the law of arms approves 85
 All ways to conquest so shou'd love's,
 And not be tied to true or false,
 But make that justest that prevails

¹ This line must be read—

The guilty and punish the innocent

² That is, condemn or pass sentence upon

For how can that which is above
 All empire, high and mighty love, 90
 Submit its great prerogative,
 To any other pow'r alive ?
 Shall love, that to no crown gives place,
 Become the subject of a case ?
 The fundamental law of nature, 95
 Be overrul'd by those made after ?
 Commit the censure of its cause
 To any but its own great laws ?
 Love, that's the world's preservative
 That keeps all souls of things alive, 100
 Controls the mighty pow'r of fate,
 And gives mankind a longer date,
 The life of nature that restores
 As fast as time and death devours
 To whose free gift the world does owe 105
 Not only earth, but heaven too
 For love's the only trade that's driven,
 The interest of state in heaven¹
 Which nothing but the soul of man
 Is capable to entertain 110
 For what can earth produce, but love
 To represent the joys above ?
 Or who but lovers can converse,
 Like angels by the eye discourse ?
 Address, and compliment by vision 115
 Make love, and court by intuition ?
 And burn in am'rous flames as fierce
 As those celestial ministers ?

¹ So Waller All that we know of those above,
 Is, that they live and that they love

But the Spanish priest *Henriquez* in his singular book entitled "The business of the Saints in Heaven" printed at Salamanca 1631, assumes to know more about them. He says that every *saint* shall have his particular house in heaven, and Christ a most magnificent palace. That there shall be large streets great piazzas fountains and gardens. That there shall be a sovereign pleasure in kissing and embracing the bodies of the blest and pleasant baths where they shall bathe themselves in each other's company that all shall sing like nightingales and delight themselves in masquerades feasts and ballads and that the *angels* shall be attired as females and present themselves to the saints in full costume, with curls and locks waistcoats and fardingales

Then how can anything offend,
 In order to so great an end ? 120
 Or heav'n itself a sin resent,
 That for its own supply was meant ? ¹
 That merits, in a kind mistake
 A pardon for th' offence s sake ?
 Or if it did not, but the cause 125
 Were left to th' injury of laws,
 What tyranny can disapprove,
 There should be equity in love ?
 For laws, that are inanimate,
 And feel no sense of love or hate, ² 130
 That have no passion of their own
 Nor pity to be wrought upon,
 Are only proper to inflict
 Revenge on criminals as strict
 But to have power to forgive, 135
 Is empire and prerogative
 And tis in crowns a nobler gem
 To grant a pardon than condemn
 Then, since so few do what they ough ,
 Tis great t indulge a well meant fault , 140
 For why should he who made address,
 All humble ways, without success ,
 And met with nothing in return
 But insolence, affronts, and scorn,
 Not strive by wit to counter mine, 145
 And bravely carry his design ?
 He who was us d s unlike a soldier,
 Blown up with philters of love powder ,
 And after letting blood, and purging,
 Condemn d to voluntary scourging , 150
 Alarm'd with many a horrid fright,
 And claw'd by goblins in the night ,
 Insulted on, revil d and jeer d,
 With rude invasion of his beard ,
 And when your sex was foully scandal'd, 155
 As foully by the rabble handled ,

¹ The Knight sophistically argues that heaven cannot resent love as a sin, since it is itself love, and therefore all love is heaven

² Aristotle defined law to be reason without passion, and despotism, or arbitrary power, to be, passion without reason

Attacked by despicable foes
 And drubb'd with mean and vulgar blows
 And after all to be debarr'd
 So much as standing on his guard 166
 When horses, being spurr'd and prick'd
 Have leave to kick for being kick'd?
 Or why should you whose mother wits¹
 Are furnish'd with all perquisites
 That with your breeding teeth begin 168
 And nursing babies that lie in,
 B'allow'd to put all tricks upon
 Our cully² sex, and we use none?
 We who have nothing but frail vows
 Against your stratagems t' oppose 170
 Or oaths more feeble than your own
 By which we are no less put down³
 You wound like Parthians while you fly
 And kill with a retreating eye⁴
 Retire the more, the more we press 175
 To draw us into ambushes
 As pirates all false colours wear,
 T' intrap th' unwary mariner
 So women to surprise us spread
 The borrow'd flags of white and red 180
 Display 'em thicker on their cheeks
 Than their old grandmothers the Picts
 And raise more devils with their looks
 Than conjurers less subtle books
 Lay trains of amorous intrigues 185
 In tow'rs and curls and periwigs
 With greater art and cunning rear'd
 Than Philip Nye's Thanksgiving beard⁵

¹ Why should you who were sharp and witty from your infancy who bred wit with your teeth &c

² Foolish or easily gulled

³ That is we are no less subdued by your oaths than by your stratagems

⁴ The Parthians were excellent horsemen and very dexterous in shooting their arrows behind them by which means their flight was often as destructive to the enemy as their attack

⁵ Nye was a member of the Assembly of Divines and as remarkable for his beard as for his fanaticism. He first entered at Brazen nose college Oxford and afterwards removed to Magdalen hall where he took his degrees and then went to Holland. In 1640 he returned home a furious Presbyterian

Prepost rously t' entice and gain
 Those to adore 'em they disdain, 190
 And only draw 'em in to clog,
 With idle names, a catalogue ¹
 A lover is the more he s brave,
 T' his mistress but the more a slave, ²
 And whatsoever she commands, 195
 Becomes a favour from her hands,
 Which he's oblig'd t' obey, and must,
 Whether it be unjust or just
 Then when he is compell'd by her
 T' adventures he would else forbear, 200
 Who, with his honour, can withstand,
 Since force is greater than command?
 And when necessity's obey'd,
 Nothing can be unjust or bad
 And therefore, when the mighty pow'rs 205
 Of love, our great ally, and yours,
 Join'd forces not to be withstood
 By frail enamour'd flesh and blood,

and was sent to Scotland to forward the Covenant. He then became a strenuous preacher on the side of the Independents. "was put into Dr Featly's living at Acton, and rode there every Lord's day in triumph in a coach drawn by four horses. He attacked Lilly the astrologer from the pulpit with considerable virulence and for this service was rewarded with the office of holding forth upon thanksgiving days. Wherefore

He thought upon it and resolv'd to put
 His beard into as wonderful a cut

Butler's MS

This preacher's beard is honoured with an entire poem in Butler's *Genuine Remains* vol. 1 p. 177. Indeed beards at that period were the prominent part of fashionable costume when the head of a celebrated court chaplain and preacher had been dressed in a superior style the friseur exclaimed with a mixture of admiration and self-applause, 'I'll be hang'd if any person of taste can attend to one word of the sermon to day'

¹ To increase the catalogue of their discarded suitors

² The poet may here possibly allude to some well known characters of his time. Bishop Burnet says "The Lady Dysart came to have so much power over Lord Lauderdale that it lessened him very much in the esteem of all the world for he delivered himself up to all her humours and passions. And we know that Anne Clarges at first the mistress and afterward the wife of General Monk duke of Albemarle, gained the most undue influence over that intrepid commander who, though never afraid of bullets was often terrified by the fury of his wife

All I have done, unjust or ill
 Was in obedience to your will 210
 And all the blame that can be due
 Falls to your cruelty and you
 Nor are those scandals I confest,
 Against my will and interest,
 More than is daily done, of course 215
 By all men, when they re under force
 Whence some upon the rack, confess
 What th hangman and their prompters please
 But are no sooner out of pain,
 Than they deny it all again 220
 But when the devil turns confessor
 Truth is a crime he takes no pleasure
 To hear or pardon, like the founder
 Of liars, whom they all claim under ¹
 And therefore when I told him none, 225
 I think it was the wiser done
 Nor am I without precedent,
 The first that on th adventure went
 All mankind ever did of course
 And daily does ~ the same, or worse 230
 For what romance can show a lover,
 That had a lady to recover
 And did not steer a nearer course,
 To fall aboard in his amours ²
 And what at first was held a crime, 235
 Has turn'd to hon rable in time
 To what a height did infant Rome,
 By ravishing of women, come ³

¹ See St John viii 44 Butler in his MS Common place Book says

As liars, with long use of telling lyes
 Forget at length if they are true or false,
 So those that plod on anything too long
 Know nothing whether th are in the right or wrong
 For what are all your demonstrations else
 But to the higher powers of sense appeals
 Senses that th undervalue and contemn
 As if it lay below their wits and them

² Var *daily do* in all editions to 1716 inclusive

³ This refers to the well known story of the Rape of the Sabines

When men upon their spouses seiz'd,
 And freely marry'd where they pleas'd 210
 They ne'er forswore themselves, nor lied
 Nor, in the mind they were in, died,
 Nor took the pains to address and sue,
 Nor play'd the masquerade to woo
 Disdain'd to stay for friends' consents, 245
 Nor juggled about settlements
 Did need no licence, nor no priest,
 Nor friends, nor kindred, to assist
 Nor lawyers, to join land and money
 In the holy state of matrimony 260
 Before they settled hands and hearts
 Till alimony or death departs¹
 Nor would endure to stay, until
 They'd got the very bride's good will
 But took a wise and shorter course 265
 To win the ladies—downright force
 And justly made 'em prisoners then,
 As they have, often since, us men
 With acting plays and dancing jigs²
 The luckiest of all love's intrigues 280
 And when they had them at their pleasure
 They talk'd of love and flames at leisure
 For after matrimony's over
 He that holds out but half a lover,
 Deserves, for every minute more 285
 Than half a year of love before
 For which the dames, in contemplation
 Of that best way of application,
 Prov'd nobler wives than e'er were known,
 By suit, or treaty, to be won,³ 270

¹ Thus printed in some editions of the Prayer Book afterwards altered "till death us do part" as mentioned in a former note. In some editions of Hudibras this line reads, "Till alimony or death *them parts*"

² The whole of this stanza refers to the rape of the Sabines. The Romans under Romulus pretending to exhibit some fine shows and diversions, drew together a concourse of young women, and seized them for their wives.

³ When the Sabines came with a large army to demand their daughters and the two nations were preparing to decide the matter by fight the women who had been carried away ran between the armies with strong manifestations of grief, and thus effected a reconciliation.

And such as all posterity
 Cou d never equal, nor come nigh
 For women first were made for men,
 Not men for them —It follows, then,
 That men have right to every one, 275
 And they no freedom of their own
 And therefore men have pow r to chuse
 But they no charter to refuse
 Hence tis apparent that what course
 Soe er we take to your amours 280
 Though by the indirectest way,
 Tis not injustice nor foul play,
 And that you ought to take that course
 As we take you, for better or worse,
 And gratefully submit to those 285
 Who you, before another, chose
 For why shou d ev'ry savage beast
 Exceed his great lord s interest ?¹
 Have freer pow r than he in grace,
 And nature, o er the creature has ? 290
 Because the laws he since has made
 Have cut off all the pow r he had,
 Retrench d the absolute dominion
 That nature gave him over women
 When all his pow r will not extend 295
 One law of nature to suspend
 And but to offer to repeal
 The smallest clause, is to rebel
 This, if men rightly understood
 Their privilege, they would make good, 300
 And not, like sots, permit their wives
 T encroach on their prerogatives
 For which sin they deserve to be
 Kept, as they are, in slavery
 And this some precious gifted teachers, 305
 Unrev rently reputed lechers²

¹ That is man sometimes called lord of the world
 Man of all creatures the most fierce and wild
 That ever God made or the devil spoil d
 The most courageous of men, by want
 As well as honour are made vabant

Butler s MS

² Mr Case, as some have supposed but, according to others, Dr Burgess

And disobey'd in making love,
 Have vow'd to all the world to prove,
 And make ye suffer as you ought,
 For that uncharitable fault 310
 But I forget myself, and rove
 Beyond th instructions of my love
 Forgive me Fair, and only blame
 Th' extravagancy of my flame,
 Since 'tis too much at once to show 315
 Excess of love and temper too
 All I have said that's bad, and true,
 Was never meant to aim at you,
 Who have so sov reign a control
 O'er that poor slave of yours, my soul, 320
 That, rather than to forfeit you,
 Has ventur'd loss of heaven too,
 Both with an equal pow'r possest,
 To render all that serve you blest,
 But none like him, who's destin'd either 325
 To have or lose you both together,
 And if you'll but this fault release,
 For so it must be, since you please,
 I'll pay down all that vow, and more,
 Which you commanded and I swore, 330
 And expiate, upon my skin,
 Th' arrears in full of all my sin
 For 'tis but just that I should pay
 Th' accruing penance for delay,
 Which shall be done until it move 335
 Your equal pity and your love

The Knight, perusing this Epistle,
 Believ'd he 'ad brought her to his whistle,
 And read it, like a jocund lover,
 With great applause, t' himself, twice over 340

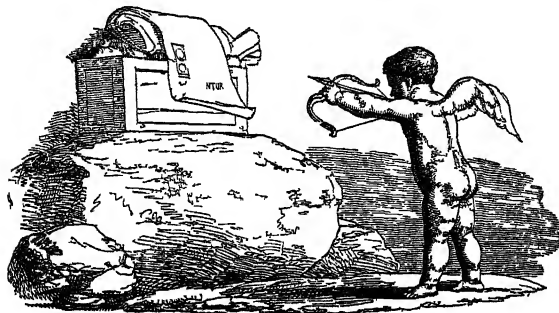
or Hugh Peters Most probably the latter, as in several volumes and tracts
 of the time Peters is distinctly accused of gross lechery, and in Thurloe's
 State Papers (vol iv p 784) it is stated that he was found with a whore
 a bed and grew mad, and said nothing but 'O blood, O blood, that troubles
 me

¹ See Butler's "Character of a Wooer"

Subscrib'd his name, but at a fit
 And humble distance to his wit,
 And dated it with wondrous art,
 'Giv'n from the bottom of his heart,'
 Then seal'd it with his coat of love, 340
 A smoking faggot—and above
 Upon a scroll—I burn and weep
 And near it—For her ladyship,
 Of all her sex most excellent,
 These to her gentle hands present¹ 350
 Then gave it to his faithless Squire,
 With lessons how to observe and eye her²
 She first consider'd which was better,
 To send it back, or burn the letter
 But guessing that it might import, 360
 Tho' nothing else, at least her sport,
 She open'd it, and read it out,
 With many a smile and leering flout
 Resolv'd to answer it in kind,
 And thus perform'd what she design'd 380

¹ The Knight's prolix superscription to his love letter is in the fashionable style of the time. Common forms were—To my much honoured friend—To the most excellent lady—To my loving cousin—these present with care and speed &c

² Don Quixote, when he sent his squire Sancho Panza to his mistress Dulcinea del Toboso, gives him similar directions





THE LADY'S ANSWER

TO

THE KNIGHT

THAT you 're a beast and turn'd to grass
 Is no strange news, nor ever was,
 At least to me, who once, you know,
 Did from the pound replevin you,¹
 When both your sword and spurs were won 5
 In combat by an Amazon
 That sword that did, like fate, determine
 Th' inevitable death of vermin,
 And never dealt its furious blows
 But cut the threads of pigs and cows, 10
 By Trulla was, in single fight,
 Disarm'd and wrested from its Knight,

¹ A replevin is a *re* deliverance of the thing distrained, to remain with the first possessor on surety to answer the distrainer's suit

Your heels degraded of your spurs ¹
 And in the stocks close prisoners
 Where still they d lain in base restraint, 15
 If I, in pity f your complaint,
 Had not on hon rable conditions
 Releas't em from the worst of prisons,
 And what return that favour met
 You cannot tho' you wou'd forget 20
 When being free you strove t' evade
 The oaths you had in prison made
 Forswore yourself and first denied it
 But after own'd and justified it
 And when you 'd falsely broke one vow, 25
 Absolv'd yourself by breaking two
 For while you sneakingly submit
 And beg for pardon at our feet ²
 Discourag'd by your guilty fears
 To hope for quarter, for your ears, 30
 And doubting twas in vain to sue,
 You claim us boldly as your due
 Declare that treachery and force,
 To deal with us is th' only course,
 We have no title nor pretence 35
 To body, soul or conscience
 But ought to fall to that man's share
 That claims us for his proper ware
 These are the motives which t' induce,
 Or fright us into love, you use 40
 A pretty new way of gallanting,
 Between soliciting and ranting
 Like sturdy beggars, that intreat
 For charity at once, and threat
 But since you undertake to prove 45
 Your own propriety in love,
 As if we were but lawful prize
 In war, between two enemies,

¹ In England when a knight was degraded his gilt spurs were beaten from his heels, and his sword taken from him and broken See a previous note

² The widow to keep up her dignity and importance, speaks of herself in the plural number

Or forfeitures which ev'ry lover,
 That would but sue for, might recover, 50
 It is not hard to understand
 The myst ry of this bold demand,
 That cannot at our persons aim,
 But something capable of claim ¹
 'Tis not those paltry counterfeit 55
 French stones, which in our eyes you set
 But our right diamonds, that inspire
 And set your am rous hearts on fire ,
 Nor can those false St Martin s beads ²
 Which on our lips you lay for reds, 60
 And make us wear like Indian dames,³
 Add fuel to your scorching flames,
 But those two rubies of the rock,
 Which in our cabinets we lock
 'Tis not those orient pearls, our teeth,⁴ 65
 That you are so transported with,

¹ Their property

² That is counterfeit rubies The manufacturers and venders of glass beads and other counterfeit jewels established themselves on the site of the old collegiate church of St Martin s le Grand (demolished upon the dissolution of the monasteries) where they carried on a considerable trade The articles fabricated at this place were called by its name, as we now say 'Brommagem ware

³ Female savages in many parts of the globe wear ornaments of fish bone stones, or coloured glass when they can get it, on their lips and noses

⁴ In the History of Don Femse, a romance translated from the Spanish of Francisco de las Coveras, and printed 1656, p 269, is the following passage ' My covetousness exceeding my love counselled me that it was better to have gold in money than in threads of hair and to possess pearls that resemble teeth, than teeth that were like pearls

In praising Chloris moons, and stars, and skies,
 Are quickly made to match her face and eyes
 And gold and rubies with as little care
 To fit the colour of her lips and hair
 And mixing suns and flow rs and pearl and stones,
 Make them serve all complexions at once
 With these fine fancies at hap hazard writ,
 I could make verses without art or wit, ■
 And shifting fifty times the verb and noun,
 With stol n impertinence patch up my own

But those we wear about our necks,
 Produce those amorous effects
 Nor is t those threads of gold, our hair,
 The periwigs you make us wear 70
 But those bright guineas in our chests,
 That light the wildfire in your breasts
 These love tricks I ve been vers d in so,
 That all their sly intrigues I know,
 And can unriddle by their tones, 75
 Their mystic cabals and jargones,
 Can tell what passions by their sounds,
 Praise for the beauties of my grounds,
 What raptures fond and amorous
 O th' charms and graces of my house 80
 What ecstasy and scorching flame,
 Burns for my money in my name
 What from th unnatural desire
 To beasts and cattle takes its fire,
 What tender sigh, and trickling tear, 85
 Longs for a thousand pounds a year
 And languishing transports are fond
 Of statute, mortgage, bill, and bond ¹
 These are th attracts which most men fall
 Enamour d, at first sight withal 90
 To these th address with serenades,
 And court with balls and masquerades,
 And yet, for all the yearning pain
 Ye 've suffer d for their loves in vain,
 I fear they ll prove so nice and coy 95
 To have, and t' hold, and to enjoy
 That all your oaths and labour lost,
 They ll ne'er turn ladies of the post ²
 This is not meant to disapprove
 Your judgment in your choice of love 100
 Which is so wise the greatest part
 Of mankind study t as an art

¹ Statute is a short writing called Statute Marchant or Statute Staple
 in the nature of a bond, &c made according to the form expressly provided
 in certain statutes, 5th Hen IV c 12, and others

² That is, will never swear for you, or vow to take you for a husband

For love shou'd, like a deodand,
 Still fall to th' owner of the land,¹
 And where there 's substance for its ground, 105
 Cannot but be more firm and sound,
 Than that which has the slighter basis
 Of any virtue, wit and graces,
 Which is of such thin subtlety,
 It steals and creeps in at the eye, 110
 And, as it can't endure to stay,
 Steals out again, as nice a way²
 But love that its extraction owns
 From solid gold and precious stones,
 Must, like its shining parents, prove 115
 As solid and as glorious love
 Hence 'tis you have no way t' express
 Our charms and graces but by these
 For what are lips, and eyes, and teeth,
 Which beauty invades and conquers with, 120
 But rubies pearls and diamonds
 With which a philter love commands?³
 This is the way all parents prove,
 In managing their children's love,
 That force em t' intermarry and wed, 125
 As if th' were bury'ng of the dead,
 Cast earth to earth, as in the grave,⁴
 To join in wedlock all they have,

¹ Any moving thing which occasions the death of a man is forfeited to the lord of the manor. It was originally intended that he should dispose of it in acts of charity hence the name deodand meaning a thing given, or rather forfeited, to God for the pacification of his wrath, in case of misadventure, whereby a Christian man cometh to a violent end, without the fault of any reasonable creature. The crown frequently granted this right to individuals, within certain limits, or annexed it to lands by which it became vested in the lord of the manor.

² Farquhar has this thought in his dialogue between Archer and Cherry. See the *Beaux Stratagem*.

³ Out of which love makes a philter.

⁴ The Burial Office observes Dr Grey was scandalously ridiculed. One Brooke a London lecturer, at the burial of Mr John Gough used the following profanity —

Ashes to ashes dust to dust,
 Here 's the pit, and in thou must

Mercurius Rusticus No 9

And, when the settlements in force
 Take all the rest for better or worse, 130
 For money has a pow'r above
 The stars and fate, to manage love,
 Whose arrows learned poets hold,
 That never miss are tipp'd with gold ¹
 And tho' some say, the parents' claims 135
 To make love in their children's names,²
 Who, many times, at once provide
 The nurse the husband and the bride
 Feel darts and charms attracts and flames,
 And woo and contract in their names 140
 And as they christen use to marry 'em
 And, like their gossips answer for 'em,
 Is not to give in matrimony
 But sell and prostitute for money
 'Tis better than their own betrothing 145
 Who often do't for worse than nothing
 And when they're at their own dispose,
 With greater disadvantage choose
 All this is right but for the course
 You take to do 't, by fraud or force, 150
 'Tis so ridiculous as soon
 As told, 'tis never to be done,
 No more than setters can betray,³
 That tell what tricks they are to play

But Mr Cheynell (the Nonconformist) behaved still more irreverently at the funeral of that eminent divine *Chillingworth*. After a reflecting speech on the deceased in which he declaimed against the use of reason in religious matters, he threw his book, *The Religion of Protestants, or a safe way to Salvation* into the grave saying 'Get thee gone thou cursed book which has seduced so many precious souls get thee gone thou corrupt rotten book earth to earth dust to dust get thee into the place of rottenness that thou mayst rot with thy author, and see corruption See *Neal's Puritans*, vol. iii p. 102

¹ In Ovid Cupid employs two arrows one of gold, and the other of lead the former causing love the latter aversion

² Though thus in all editions *claim* and *name* would be better readings for *claim* is the nominative case to *is* in verse 143

³ Setter, a term frequent in the comedies of the last century sometimes it seems to be a pump sometimes a spy but most usually an attendant on a cheating gamester who introduces unpractised youths to be pillaged, by

Marriage at best, is but a vow, 155
 Which all men either break or bow,
 Then what will those forbear to do,
 Who perjure when they do but woo?
 Such as beforehand swear and lie,
 For earnest to their treachery 160
 And rather than a crime confess,
 With greater strive to make it less
 Like thieves, who, after sentence past,
 Maintain their innocence to the last,
 And when their crimes were made appear 165
 As plain as witnesses can swear,
 Yet when the wretches come to die,
 Will take upon their death a lie
 Nor are the virtues you confess'd
 T' your ghostly father, as you guess'd, 170
 So slight as to be justified,
 By being as shamefully denied,
 As if you thought your word would pass,
 Point blank on both sides of a case
 Or credit were not to be lost 175
 B' a brave knight errant of the post,
 That enters perfidiously his word,
 And swears his ears through a two inch board¹
 Can own the same thing and disown,
 And perjure booty *pro* and *con* 180
 Can make the Gospel serve his turn,
 And help him out to be forsworn
 When his laid hands upon, and kist,
 To be betray'd and sold, like Christ
 These are the virtues in whose name 185
 A right to all the world you claim,
 And boldly challenge a dominion,
 In grace and nature, o'er all women,

him what a setting dog is to a sportsman Butler here seems to say that those who tell the cards in another's hand, cannot always tell how they will be played

¹ That is, endeavours to shield himself from the punishment due to perjury the loss of his ears by a desperate perseverance in false swearing. A person is said to swear through a two inch board, when he makes oath of anything which was concealed from him by a thick door or partition

Of whom no less will satisfy
 Than all the sex, your tyranny 190
 Altho' you'll find it a hard province,
 With all your crafty frauds and covins,¹
 To govern such a numerous crew,
 Who, one by one, now govern you,
 For if you all were Solomons, 195
 And wise and great as he was once,
 You'll find they're able to subdue,
 As they did him, and baffle you
 And if you are imposed upon,
 'Tis by your own temptation done 200
 That with your ignorance invite
 And teach us how to use the slight
 For when we find ye're still more taken
 With false attracts of our own making,
 Swear that 's a rose and that 's a stone, 205
 Like sots, to us that laid it on,
 And what we did but slightly prime,
 Most ignorantly daub in rhyme,
 You force us, in our own defences,
 To copy beams and influences, 210
 To lay perfections on the graces,
 And draw attracts upon our faces,
 And, in compliance to your wit,
 Your own false jewels counterfeit
 For, by the practice of those arts, 215
 We gain a greater share of hearts,
 And those deserve in reason most,
 That greatest pains and study cost
 For great perfections are, like heav'n,
 Too rich a present to be giv'n 220
 Nor are those master strokes of beauty
 To be perform'd without hard duty,
 Which, when they're nobly done, and well,
 The simple natural excel
 How fair and sweet the planted rose,² 225
 Beyond the wild in hedges, grows!¹

¹ Covin is a term of law signifying a deceitful compact between two or more to deceive or prejudice others

² This and the following lines are full of poetry Mr Nash supposes

For, without art, the noblest seeds
 Of flowers degenerate into weeds
 How dull and rugged, ere 'tis ground
 And polish'd, looks a diamond!¹ 236
 Though paradise were e'er so fair,
 It was not kept so without care
 The whole world, without art and dress,
 Would be but one great wilderness,
 And mankind but a savage herd 238
 For all that nature has conferr'd
 This does but rough hew and design,
 Leaves art to polish and refine
 Though women first were made for men,
 Yet men were made for them agen 240
 For when outwitted by his wife
 Man first turn'd tenant but for life,¹
 If woman had not interven'd,
 How soon had mankind had an end!
 And that it is in being yet, 245
 To us alone you are in debt
 Then where's your liberty of choice
 And our unnatural no voice?
 Since all the privilege you boast,
 And false usurp'd, or vainly lost 250
 Is now our right, to whose creation
 You owe your happy restoration
 And if we had not weighty cause
 To not appear in making laws,
 We could, in spite of all your tricks 252
 And shallow formal politics,
 Force you our managements t' obey,
 As we to yours, in show, give way
 Hence 'tis, that while you vainly strive
 To advance your high prerogative, 260
 You basely, after all your braves,
 Submit and own yourselves our slaves,

that Butler alludes to Milton, when he says,

Though paradise were e'er so fair,
 It was not kept so without care

¹ When man became subject to death by eating the forbidden fruit at the persuasion of woman

And 'cause we do not make it known,
 Nor publicly our int rests own,
 Like sots suppose we have no shares 265
 In ord ring you, and your affairs
 When all your empire and command,
 You have from us, at second hand
 As if a pilot, that appears
 To sit still only, while he steers, 270
 And does not make a noise and stir,
 Like ev ry common mariner,
 Knew nothing of the card, nor star,
 And did not guide the man of war
 Nor we because we don t appear 275
 In councils, do not govern there
 While like the mighty Prester John,
 Whose person none dares look upon,¹
 But is preserv d in close disguise,
 From b ing made cheap to vulgar eyes, 280
 W enjoy as large a pow r unseen,
 To govern him, as he does men
 And, in the right of our Pope Joan,
 Make emp rors at our feet fall down,
 Or Joan de Pucelle's braver name,² 285
 Our right to arms and conduct claim,

¹ The name or title of Prester John has been given by travellers to the king of Tenduc in Asia, who, like the Abyssinian emperors, preserved great state, and did not condescend to be seen by his subjects more than three times a year, namely, Christmas day Easter day and Holyrood day in September (See *Purchas s Pilgrimes*, vol ii p 1092) He is said to have had seventy kings for his vassals Mandeville makes Prester John sovereign of an archipelago of isles in India beyond Bactria and says that "a former emperor travelled into Egypt where being present at divine service he asked who those persons were that stood before the bishop" And being told they were *prestres* or priests he said he would no more be called king or emperor but priest and would take the name of him that came first out of the priests and was called John since which time all the emperors have been called Prester John —Cap 99

² *Joan of Arc* called also the *Pucelle* or Maid of Orleans She was born at the town of Domremu on the Meuse daughter of *James de Arc* and *Isabelle Romee* and was bred up a shepherdess in the country At the age of eighteen or twenty she asserted that she had received an express commission from God to go to the relief of Orleans, then besieged by the English and defended by *John Comte de Dennes*, and almost reduced to the

Who, tho' a spinster, yet was able
 To serve France for a grand constable
 We make and execute all laws,
 Can judge the judges, and the Cause, 290
 Prescribe all rules of right or wrong,
 To th' long robe, and the longer tongue,
 'Gainst which the world has no defence,
 But our more pow'ful eloquence
 We manage things of greatest weight 295
 In all the world's affairs of state,
 Are ministers of war and peace,
 That sway all nations how we please
 We rule all churches and their flocks,
 Heretical and orthodox, 300
 And are the heavenly vehicles
 O th' spirits in all conventicles ¹
 By us is all commerce and trade
 Improv'd and manag'd, and decay'd
 For nothing can go off so well, 305
 Nor bears that price as what we sell
 We rule in every public meeting,
 And make men do what we judge fitting, ²

last extremity She went to the coronation of Charles the Seventh, when he was almost ruined and recognised that prince in the midst of his nobles though meanly habited The doctors of divinity and members of Parliament openly declared that there was something supernatural in her conduct She sent for a sword, which lay in the tomb of a knight behind the great altar of the church of *St Katharine de Forbois* upon the blade of which the *cross* and *fleur de lis* were engraven which put the king in a very great surprise as none beside himself was supposed to know of it Upon this he sent her with the command of some troops with which she relieved Orleans, and drove the English from it defeated *Talbot* at the battle of *Pattay* and recovered *Champagne* At last she was unfortunately taken prisoner in a sally at *Champagne* in 1430, and tried for a witch or sorceress, condemned and burnt in *Rouen* market place in May 1430 But her story is differently told by different historians some denying the truth of the greater part of it and some even of her existence Anstis, in his Register of the Order of the Garter, says that for her valiant actions she was ennobled and had a grant of arms dated January 16th 1429 Her story is beautifully dramatised by Schiller in his 'Maid of Orleans'

¹ As good vehicles at least as the cloak bag which was said to have conveyed the same from Rome to the Council of Trent

² Much of what is here said on the political influence of women, was aimed at the court of Charles II, who was greatly governed by his

Are magistrates in all great towns,
 Where men do nothing but wear gowns 310
 We make the man of war strike sail,¹
 And to our braver conduct veil,
 And when he s chas d his enemies,
 Submit to us upon his knees
 Is there an officer of state, 315
 Untimely rais d, or magistrate
 That's haughty and imperious ?
 He s but a journeyman to us,
 That as he gives us cause to do't,
 Can keep him in or turn him out 320
 We are your guardians, that increase
 Or waste your fortunes how we please,
 And as you humour us can deal
 In all your matters ill or well
 'Tis we that can dispose alone 325
 Whether your heirs shall be your own,
 To whose integrity you must,
 In spite of all your caution, trust
 And less you fly beyond the seas
 Can fit you with what heirs we please ² 330
 And force you t own them, tho begotten
 By French valets, or Irish footmen
 Nor can the rigourousest course
 Prevail unless to make us worse
 Who still, the harsher we are us'd, 335
 Are further off from b ing reduc d,
 And scorn t' abate, for any ills,
 The least punctilio of our wills
 Force does but whet our wits t apply
 Arts, born with us for remedy, 340
 Which all your politics, as yet,
 Have ne er been able to defeat
 For, when ye ve try d all sorts of ways,
 What fools d' we make of you in plays ?

mistresses especially the Duchess of Portsmouth who was in the interest of
 France Some suppose that the wife of General Monk may be intended

¹ Alluding probably to Sir William Waller

² See note on line 598 at page 289

While all the favours we afford 345
 Are but to girt you with the sword,
 To fight our battles in our steads,
 And have your brains beat out o' your heads,
 Encounter, in despite of nature,
 And fight, at once, with fire and water, 350
 With pirates, rocks, and storms, and seas,
 Our pride and vanity to appease,
 Kill one another, and cut throats,
 For our good graces, and best thoughts,
 To do your exercise for honour, 355
 And have your brains beat out the sooner,
 Or crack'd, as learnedly, upon
 Things that are never to be known
 And still appear the more industrious,
 The more your projects are prepost'rous, 360
 To square the circle of the arts,
 And run stark mad to show your parts,
 Expound the oracle of laws,
 And turn them which way we see cause,
 Be our solicitors and agents, 365
 And stand for us in all engagements
 And these are all the mighty pow'rs
 You vainly boast to cry down ours,
 And what in real value's wanting,
 Supply with vapouring and ranting 370
 Because yourselves are terrified,
 And stoop to one another's pride
 Believe we have as little wit
 To be out-hector'd, and submit
 By your example, lose that right 375
 In treaties, which we gain'd in fight ¹
 And terrified into an awe,
 Pass on ourselves a Salique law, ²

¹ England in every period of her history, has been thought more successful in war than in negotiation Congreve, reflecting upon Queen Anne's last ministry in his epistle to Lord Cobham, says

Be far that guilt, be never known that shame
 That Britain should retract her rightful claim
 Or stain with pen the triumphs of her sword ¹

² The Salique law bars the succession of females to some inheritances

Or, as some nations use, give place,
 And truckle to your mighty race,¹
 Let men usurp th' unjust dominion,
 As if they were the better women


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Thus knights fees were in some parts *terra salica* males only being allowed to inherit such lands, because females could not perform the services for which they were granted In France this law regulates the inheritance of the crown itself See Shakspeare Henry V Act 1 sc 2

¹ Grey thinks this may be an allusion to the obsequiousness of the Muscovite women, recorded in *Purchas s Pilgrimes* (vol ii p 230) a book with which our poet seems to have been very familiar It is there said, That if in Muscovy the woman is not beaten once a week she will not be good and therefore they look for it weekly and the women say if their husbands did not beat them, they should not love them



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